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In This Issue

PATRICIA L. BRYAN, professor of law at the University of North Carolina, tells the story of John Wesley Elkins. In 1890, the 12-year-old Elkins was convicted of murdering his parents and sentenced to life in prison at the State Penitentiary at Anamosa. Bryan relates his years of struggle for pardon in the context of changing attitudes about crime and punishment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

ROBERT SCHOONE-JONGEN, who teaches history at Calvin College, offers a portrait of the Dutch language newspaper, *De Volksvriend*, published in Orange City from 1874 to 1951. He focuses particularly on the published correspondence that came to the paper from all over the country, creating an "imagined community" of Dutch Americans that eased their passage from the Old World to the New.

Front Cover

Providing educational opportunities for inmates was an important part of prison reform in the late nineteenth century, a reform that benefited John Wesley Elkins, the subject of Patricia Bryan's article in this issue. This photo from the early 1900s of a classroom at the State Penitentiary at Anamosa comes from the Anamosa State Penitentiary Museum, Anamosa.

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John Wesley Elkins, Boy Murderer, and His Struggle for Pardon

PATRICIA L. BRYAN

However dwarfed and distorted, even hidden for a time, the moral sense can never be entirely eradicated from any human breast, and Wesley Elkins, moral idiot and boy murderer, still contained possibilities, which needed only the opportunity of development. And as strange as it may seem, these opportunities, hitherto lacking, he found within the walls of the penitentiary….

But, you may ask, is not all improvement superficial? Has the real root of the matter been touched? Is it indeed possible to arouse the moral sense of the degenerate or moral idiot?[1]

IN EARLY SEPTEMBER 1901, the *Anamosa Prison Press*, a newspaper written and published at the Iowa State Penitentiary at Anamosa, reported that one of their own "reeled and fell in a

I am indebted to Richard Snavely and Steve Wendl, both of the Anamosa State Penitentiary Museum, for their friendship and their invaluable contributions to this article. They alerted me to the story of Wesley Elkins, encouraged my work, and generously shared information and ideas. I am also grateful to Ilo Rhines and Judy Moyna for their investigation into Elkins's life after his release; the staff at the State Historical Society of Iowa in Des Moines, especially Gordon Hendrickson, Jeffrey Dawson, and Sharon Avery, for their help during my search of the archives there; my excellent research assistants, particularly Ben Iddings, Taylor Browne, and Morgan Stoddard, for their diligent research and many other contributions; Marvin Bergman and three anonymous reviewers of an earlier draft of this article for their valuable comments; and Thomas Wolf, for his unfailing support of this project. My work on this article was supported, in part, by grants from the State Historical Society of Iowa and the North Carolina Law Center Foundation.

1. E. Wade Koons, "Wesley Elkins," *Coe College Courier,* 12/12/1899. This essay won the Dow's Prize, awarded at Coe College, June 1899.

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faint," collapsing among lines of convicts on their way to dinner.[2] Identified only as #1900, the stricken man was well known at Anamosa as one of the small group of "lifers," those sentenced to the longest possible term behind bars. Prisoner #1900 had already been incarcerated for more years than most, although he was also one of the younger men there, with his youth accentuated by his slight physique: he stood 5′ 2″ tall and weighed 110 pounds. Only 24 years old, Prisoner #1900 had spent nearly 12 years at Anamosa — almost half his life.[3]

People throughout Iowa would have recognized him by name. He was John Wesley Elkins, the notorious "boy murderer" from Clayton County who had been convicted of first-degree murder for killing his father. At the age of 11, Elkins had shot his sleeping father in the head with a rifle. When his stepmother tried to help her dying husband, Elkins used a wooden club to beat her to death. Those at the penitentiary in Anamosa, though, knew him as their conscientious head librarian, a job he had held since 1894. In 1901 the *Prison Press* described him as a "bright, observing youth" with "a fund of book lore which would be a credit to any man." Prison officials shared that positive impression. They recognized Elkins's intelligence and education and appreciated his excellent record of conduct. During his years at Anamosa, he had matured from a shy and fearful child into a literate and articulate young man, well-read, thoughtful, and capable of eloquent expression.[4]

The long period of confinement, though, was taking its toll on Elkins. After his fainting spell, doctors concluded that "the

2. *Anamosa Prison Press,* 9/7/1901.

3. *Des Moines Daily Capital,* 4/21/1902. From 1891 to 1899, the average age of prisoners sent to Anamosa was about 30. State Board of Control, *Biennial Report* (1899), 366. In 1901–02, the Anamosa penitentiary's population was approximately 400, with 40 of them serving life sentences. *Anamosa Prison Press,* 2/1/1901. In 1904 it was reported that out of 49 lifers, only a very few had served more than ten years, since "the lifers, apparently, do not live long." *Cedar Rapids Weekly Gazette,* 4/14/1904. According to the *Prison Press,* 2/1/1902, the men serving life sentences were invariably "the best behaved prisoners in a prison."

4. *Elkader Register*, 1/16/1890; *Anamosa Prison Press,* 9/21/1901; *Wesley Elkins: An Appeal and Statements of Ex-Wardens Barr and Madden and Warden Hunter* (1902), Cornell College Archives, Mount Vernon, Iowa.

boy's nervous system is in a weak condition." He was hospitalized for a few days and kept under observation. When he was discharged, he was transferred from the library to work in the engine room, with the hope that a change of scene would raise his spirits and improve his health.[5]

At the time, Elkins was about to embark on the next phase of a battle that had consumed him for years. He was fighting for his freedom, arguing that he deserved to be released from prison. By 1901, he had gained the support of influential men who publicly advocated for his cause, and yet they knew that this appeal would trigger another firestorm of protest. Once again, he would be portrayed as a degenerate, born with a defective moral sense that could not be corrected. Residents of Clayton County, scene of the crimes, had always been especially vehement in their opposition to Elkins's release, claiming to have proof of his bad heritage and uncontrollable violent tendencies. In their minds, he was a born criminal whose nature could be masked but never changed. The strength of those views had condemned him to continued incarceration.[6]

Elkins never denied his role in the killings or retracted the confession that had led to his murder conviction and life sentence. He argued, though, that those legal consequences were too extreme to impose on an 11-year-old who lacked the requisite mental capacity for criminal intent and so could not be held responsible in the same way as an adult. He described his deeds as the impulsive acts of a child at an early stage of development and strongly affected by parental mistreatment and neglect.[7]

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5. *Anamosa Prison Press*, 9/7/1901, 9/21/1901.

6. *Des Moines Daily Leader*, 3/19/1902.

7. See, for example, *Cedar Rapids Republican,* 1/23/1898. Elkins's argument that his sentence was too extreme for a child was well supported by legal precedent. See *State v. Aaron*, 4 N.J.L. 231 (1818), describing the established rule that children under the age of 7 were presumed unable to discern the difference between good and evil and thus were incapable of committing capital crimes; the same presumption applied to children between the ages of 7 and 14, and could be overcome only by strong and convincing evidence that the child could comprehend the nature and consequences of his act. Other precedent supporting lessened criminal responsibility for children under the age of 14 is discussed in Anthony M. Platt, *The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency* (Chicago, 1977), 193–212.

Although he was unwilling to accept a life sentence, Elkins admitted that he had done wrong. Imprisonment had punished him for that, but his years inside the penitentiary walls had offered him more than the chance to repent and atone for his crimes. In the true spirit of a reformatory, Anamosa had given him the means necessary to develop the mature moral consciousness of a law-abiding adult, and now his rehabilitation was complete. As Elkins argued in persuasive appeals, which were publicized throughout the state, no societal purpose could be served by his continued incarceration.[8]

These arguments resonated with many progressive thinkers of the time, who were convinced that the possibility of rehabilitation offered a solution to the serious problem of crime. On the other hand, many people, drawing on scientific theories from the previous century, believed that criminal conduct resulted from a congenital brain defect, with the affliction isolated to the moral faculty, or the capacity to distinguish between right and wrong. Seeking to explain the disability, commentators often blamed heredity, suggesting that criminality might be an inherited trait, developed through evolutionary forces. The emerging picture of a "moral imbecile" was chilling: an individual, normal in outward appearance and often highly intelligent, who was subject to innate and uncontrollable urges to commit terrible acts of depravity.[9]

By the end of the nineteenth century, two very different images of criminals loomed in the popular imagination. In one image, the offender was driven to crime by bad associations and other negative external forces and could be reformed through education, hard work, and guidance. In opposition lurked a darker prototype: the born criminal, with an inherited degenerate nature that could not be treated or changed, dooming the individual to a life of crime. Permanent incarceration of born criminals seemed necessary to ensure public safety.

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8. *Cedar Rapids Republican,* 1/23/1898.

9. For discussions of biological theories, see Nicole Hahn Rafter, *Creating Born Criminals* (Urbana and Chicago, 1997), 73–109; Thomas G. Blomberg and Karol Lucken, *American Penology: A History of Control* (New York, 2000), 68–70; and Platt, *The Child Savers*, 15–45. See also Koons, "Wesley Elkins."

Both images are reflected in the controversy over whether John Wesley Elkins should be pardoned. Was Elkins a born degenerate, beyond the hope of redemption and destined to reproduce his own kind? Or could his acts as a child be explained by his young age and the sad circumstances of his upbringing, with his transformation justifying the promise of education and reform? From his prison cell at Anamosa, Wesley Elkins knew that the answers to those questions would determine his fate.

ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD WESLEY ELKINS was not, at first, a suspect in the murders of John and Hattie Elkins, which occurred before sunrise on Wednesday, July 17, 1889, in the quiet farming community of Elk Township in northeast Iowa.[10] The victims had been married for seven years: John Elkins was a 45-year-old sawmill operator and Civil War veteran, and Hattie, age 23, was his third wife. They shared a small three-room house with two children: Wesley Elkins, the young son of John and his second wife, Matilda, now deceased; and a baby girl, the daughter of John and Hattie. The house was located in an isolated spot in a heavily wooded area, nearly a half-mile from the public highway and just as far from any other residence. Neighbors had not heard a disturbance during the night, but early Wednesday morning, a man living nearby had spotted Wesley, his face and clothes spattered with blood, driving a buggy on the road away from his house with the baby lying on the seat beside him. When the boy was stopped, he volunteered the news that his parents had been killed in the night by an intruder: his father shot and his stepmother "pounded to death."[11]

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10. Facts in the text about Wesley's early life, the murders, the inquest, and the investigation are taken primarily from the *Elkader Register*, 7/18/1889 (the first detailed report of the murders) and 1/16/1890; *Cedar Rapids Sunday Republican*, 1/23/1898; *Des Moines Daily Leader*, 3/19/1902; Transcript of Testimony at the Coroner's Inquest on July 17, 1889; and Transcript of Testimony at the Grand Jury Hearing in October 1889. The two transcripts, other legal documents, and many other primary source materials related to Elkins's case are in Elkins folders in the Governor's Correspondence on Criminal Matters at the State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines (hereafter cited as Elkins Archives).

11. *Elkader Register*, 1/16/1890.

The sheriff found the victims in their bedroom: John Elkins was slain in his bed, struck by a single bullet fired into his left eye and then beaten with a blunt object on the temple and forehead. Hattie, lying next to her husband, had also been violently assaulted; her skull was crushed, her jawbone broken, and the backs of her legs bruised from repeated blows. Neighbors came to view the hideous tableau through the open window before the bodies were removed, and they could see blood splattered on the walls and the ceilings and pooled in the bedclothes and on the floor. A bloody track of footprints — small and barefoot — marked a path from the corpses to the second bedroom, and bedding in that room was also stained with blood. In the words of a reporter, the "horrible" scene inside the house "tried the nerves of the strongest."[12]

The coroner convened an inquest, calling Wesley as the first witness. Under oath, the boy testified that he had eaten supper with his family on Tuesday evening and gone to sleep in the barn, which was cooler than the house. He was wakened by the noise of a gunshot, followed by a woman's scream. He said he was afraid at first, but, when all was quiet, he went to investigate and discovered the bodies on the bed. Although he did not touch them, he thought right away that they were dead. Then he heard the baby, lying on the sheet near her mother's head, "crying bad, as hard as it could." He carried her to the other room, changed her out of her blood-soaked clothes, and took her with him to hitch the horse to the buggy and go for help.[13]

The inquest jury questioned ten neighbors, but none of them knew anything about what had happened during the night. While they could not suggest a motive or a suspect, they did have some information to share about Wesley Elkins. People in the neighborhood did not know the boy well, although they were familiar with the scandalous story of his past. The marriage of his parents — John Elkins and Matilda Blackwell — had ended in dramatic fashion. Said to be a willful and passionate woman, Matilda had taken a lover, entering into a "life of shame" while still married to John. She was pregnant with Wesley when

12. *Elkader Register*, 7/18/1889.

13. Testimony of Wesley Elkins, Transcript of Coroner's Inquest.

she made several attempts to murder her husband: first, she tried to poison him, then she lay in wait with a loaded gun, and finally, with the help of her paramour, she positioned logs to fall on him while he worked. When all of her efforts failed, she deserted John Elkins, filed for divorce, and then eloped with her lover to Waterloo. Wesley was born there, and he lived with his mother and her new husband for the first seven years of his life, until his mother died and his stepfather sent him away. The 7-year-old traveled alone to Clayton County. When he appeared unexpectedly at the small farmhouse where John Elkins lived with his third wife, Hattie, and their baby, the father set eyes on his son for the first time.[14]

Given the history, neighbors were not surprised that John and Hattie Elkins had not welcomed Wesley. Hattie was known to be overbearing, and John quick-tempered and strict, and people suspected that they treated Wesley harshly. At first, Wesley attended school, where teachers found him to be bright and studious, but when he turned 9, his father put him to work during the days tending the fire under the boiler at the mill.[15] Just a few weeks before the murders, a new rumor had circulated about Wesley: that he had run to a neighbor's house and begged for a ride to Waterloo. According to the story, John Elkins had come after his son and angrily taken him home.[16]

The verdict of the inquest jury stated how the two victims had died but did not identify a suspect. The sheriff, claiming to be mystified by the case, hired a detective from the Pinkerton Agency in Chicago to help search for clues. At the request of county leaders, the governor offered a $500 reward for information leading to an arrest.[17]

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14. *Cedar Rapids Sunday Republican*, 1/23/1898; *Des Moines Daily Leader*, 3/19/1902; Koons, "Wesley Elkins."

15. A. B. Curran to Governor Leslie M. Shaw, 1/29/1898, Elkins Archives; A. B. Curran to Senate Committee on Pardons, 2/25/1902, Elkins Archives.

16. Testimonies of Alfred Heath and Wesley Elkins, Transcript of Coroner's Inquest.

17. Transcript of the Coroner's Inquest; Affidavit of Sheriff J. J. Kann, 5/17/1890, Elkins Archives; Robert Quigley to Governor Leslie M. Shaw, 2/2/1898, Elkins Archives; *Elkader Register*, 7/25/1889; Robert Quigley et al. to Governor William Larrabee, 7/18/1889, Elkins Archives.

Wesley moved to the home of relatives nearby, and when he returned for the funerals, neighbors commented that he seemed strange: unaffected and indifferent, displaying no sorrow or emotion. Some thought that he might be hiding something, but few supposed that a child, so small and immature, could have committed such violent crimes.[18]

Five days after the murders, the sheriff brought Wesley to live with him and his family, hoping to shield the boy from the public. He also engaged him in private conversations. Before long Wesley confessed to the murders, repeating his statements to a judge. When his confession was reported in the newspapers, Clayton County citizens expressed shock and then outrage at the news.[19]

While many had suspected his involvement, they expected Wesley to implicate an adult. Instead, he said that he had acted alone, planning the killings in advance and even hiding the wooden club he intended to use as a weapon. He described the attacks in detail: he waited until his parents were asleep, then loaded the rifle and retrieved the club, shooting his father in bed and then hitting his stepmother again and again. "I struck her several times more until I was sure she was dead, and then father kind of groaned so I struck him once or twice to be sure that he was dead." As for a motive, Wesley said only that he was tired of doing chores and wanted "to be at liberty to do for myself." When asked why he had not killed the baby, he replied that he liked her. And why didn't he run away after the murders? He didn't want people to think he had done it. According to those who heard him, he was "perfectly cool and self-possessed with no tremor in his voice."[20]

The idea of a child acting in this methodical and brutal fashion was almost beyond comprehension. As the community sought to make sense of the crime, the only reasonable explanation seemed to be that the boy must be an aberration, with an unnatural disposition inherited from his depraved mother.

18. *Cedar Rapids Republican,* 1/23/1898.

19. *Dubuque Daily Times*, 7/28/1889; *Elkader Register*, 8/1/1889.

20. *Elkader Register*, 1/16/1890 (quoting from the confession); Testimonies of James E. Cortlett and L. O. Hatch, Transcript of Grand Jury Hearing.

After all, Wesley was in her womb when she tried to murder John Elkins, the very man Wesley now admitted killing.[21]

Wesley Elkins was publicly condemned as a degenerate, "utterly devoid of all moral sense." After talking to the boy, the prosecutor concluded that he "would be a dangerous element in society at any stage of life," and the lawyer appointed to defend Elkins did not disagree. When the boy was indicted by the grand jury on two counts of murder in the first degree, a crime requiring premeditation and criminal intent, his lawyer advised that he plead guilty to one count: the murder of his father. Precedent under common law would have justified a defense on Elkins's behalf arguing that an 11-year-old child was not capable of forming the requisite criminal intent, but the lawyer defending Elkins did not make that claim. Although the prosecutor believed that Elkins's crime warranted the death penalty, he understood that the defendant's age would trigger controversy, so that permanent incarceration was the best alternative.[22]

In early January 1890, Wesley Elkins was sentenced to prison for life. In its report, the local newspaper informed readers that Elkins, utterly lacking in emotion or conscience, was "undoubtedly the youngest ever convicted of such a crime in the criminal history of the United States." Next to his full confession, it printed a recent photograph: with his hair neatly combed and dressed in a suit jacket and polka-dotted bow tie, the boy gazed seriously into the camera, looking like a gentle young schoolchild.[23] In the years to come, residents of Clayton County would remember the underlying message: that his normal appearance belied his unnatural and uncontrollable criminal nature.

WESLEY ELKINS was age 12 on January 14, 1890, when he entered the State Penitentiary at Anamosa. He was assigned convict number 1900, and his attributes were recorded: occupa-

21. *Des Moines Daily Leader,* 3/19/1902.

22. *Elkader Register*, 1/16/1890; Robert Quigley to Governor Leslie M. Shaw, 2/2/1898, Elkins Archives; *Cedar Rapids Republican,* 1/23/1898. More generally, see A. W. G. Kean, "The History of the Criminal Liability of Children," 53 *Law Q. Rev*. 364 (1937); and Platt, *The Child Savers*, 193–212.

23. *Elkader Register*, 1/16/1890.

This photo of Wesley Elkins as a young boy was published in newspapers at the time of the crime, and was also on the cover of a pamphlet distributed to legislators in 1902. Photo courtesy Anamosa State Penitentiary Museum, Anamosa.

tion, "farmer"; social status, "single"; mental culture, "poor." He weighed 76 pounds, stood 4′ 7″ tall, and wore a size 4 boot. A few weeks later, a reporter for the *Anamosa Journal* described "the little fellow," noting that "the unusual breadth of the head between the ears . . . would signify an abnormal development of the part of the cranium where the phrenologists say the impulse to do murder has its origin." The reporter did not put much stock in that conclusion, calling it "more humbug than anything else." Instead, he stressed the boy's positive attributes: his "winning" smile, the "truthful light in his dark blue eyes," the facial features that indicated "intelligence, energy and amiability."[24]

24. State Penitentiary at Anamosa, *Record of Convicts,* State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines; *Anamosa Journal*, 2/13/1890.

By 1890, the State Penitentiary at Anamosa, in operation for nearly 20 years, was well established, with a population of close to 300. Built to reduce overcrowding at the state prison in Fort Madison, the "Additional Penitentiary," as it was first called, opened in 1873 during a time of significant transition in penal philosophies.[25] Three years earlier, reformers, educators, and prison administrators had gathered at a national conference and enthusiastically endorsed rehabilitation as the primary goal of incarceration. The resulting Declaration of Principles urged radical institutional changes — stressing individualized diagnosis and treatment — and prisons throughout the country were experimenting with new strategies.[26]

The idea of rehabilitation represented a radical shift in penal philosophy, as commentators rejected the traditional justifications of deterrence and retribution and questioned the effectiveness of harsh discipline, strict routine, isolation, and surveillance. Social observers and journalists were calling attention to environmental causes of crime — poverty, poor living conditions, unemployment — and psychologists were considering the influence of such factors on mental development. A new class of prison administrators emerged, eager to establish themselves as professionals with unique expertise, distinct from the political appointees of the past. Supported by liberal reformers and educators, these officials took the lead in advocating dramatic institutional changes consistent with the new theories. They embraced the goal of rehabilitation, recommending that prisons be designed to focus on the diagnosis and treatment of each individual offender, rather than simply exacting punishment.[27]

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25. Joyce McKay, "Reforming Prisoners and Prisons: Iowa's State Prisons — The First Hundred Years," *Annals of Iowa* 60 (2001), 140, 147.

26. Rafter, *Creating Born Criminals*, 96–103; Blake McKelvey, *American Prisons: A History of Good Intentions* (Montclair, NJ, 1977), 88–115.

27. For discussions of the changing penal philosophies and the rise of the reformatory movement, see McKelvey, *American Prisons*, 88–115, 176-89; Blomberg and Lucken, *American Penology*, 47–81, 100–101; Rafter, *Creating Born Criminals*; Alexander W. Pisciotta, *Benevolent Repression: Social Control and the American Reformatory-Prison Movement* (New York, 1994), 7–32; Platt, *The Child Savers,* 18-45. An excellent description of these changes in Iowa is in McKay, "Reforming Prisoners and Prisons," 139–73.

During the late nineteenth century, prisons throughout the country experimented with innovative techniques. Progressive wardens replaced punitive methods intended to force compliance with therapeutic measures aimed at transforming those in their charge. Education and vocational training were seen as essential to success, offering opportunities for individual growth and measurable advancement. New grading systems encouraged obedience and industry, with the higher grades rewarded with better food, later bedtimes, and more comfortable uniforms. Freedom, of course, was the ultimate reward, and some penologists advocated indefinite sentencing — with release dependent upon proof of full rehabilitation — as the most effective way to promote moral progress. That idea proved too radical for many, but indeterminate sentences, carrying a maximum term with the possibility of early release, became popular.[28]

The push for indefinite sentences suggested the underlying belief that rehabilitation was not always possible. Even the most ardent prison reformers admitted that certain offenders seemed bent on a path of misconduct and insubordination and were unable to progress through the steps indicating advance. Administrators labeled such inmates as "incorrigibles," often citing biological theories of crime to explain such cases.

At the time Elkins arrived at the Anamosa Penitentiary, many of the rules there still followed tradition. Solitary confinement and corporal punishments continued until close to the end of the century, with prisoners often forced to walk in lockstep and eat and work in silence, although these disciplinary measures were increasingly accompanied by efforts to encourage psychological and social improvement. Prisoners were offered incentives for good behavior, earning credits toward privileges and reduced time, and chaplains took on increased responsibility for moral instruction. Educational programs were put in place; illiterates were required to attend, and many others voluntarily enrolled in courses in literature, mathematics, geography, and history. The prison library expanded its collection,

28. See note 27. For a discussion of the evolution of parole during this period, see Jonathan Simon, *Poor Discipline: Parole and the Social Control of the Underclass, 1890–1900* (Chicago, 1993).

and publicized the value of reading books.[29] A new prison press began to publish weekly issues, with articles on religious, academic, and political topics, and essays by inmates urging specific penal reforms.[30] By the end of the century, Anamosa had implemented a grading system, and many administrators actively supported indeterminate sentencing, making an early release dependent upon their judgment of a prisoner's moral progress.[31]

When Elkins arrived at Anamosa, he was escorted to the office of the head warden, Marquis Barr, who was astonished to see the newcomer: he looked small and frail, with delicate features and a "girlish manner." As Barr wrote later, "my heart was filled with pity and sympathy for him." Although there was no formal rule about juveniles, Barr determined that the boy should be separated from older inmates as much as possible. He assigned chores to Elkins and kept him under close personal supervision. The boy seemed fearful and nervous, suggesting to Barr that he had been neglected and abused. After Warden Barr talked to the boy several times, it also seemed clear to him that Elkins was too young to understand the enormity of what he had done.[32]

Warden Barr was convinced, as were other prison officials at the time, that most offenders could be cured with education and proper training, and he took his role in that mission seriously. In his mind, prison officials were responsible for treating individuals in their charge, providing each one with the necessary guidance to achieve reform. Barr accepted that some were not susceptible to change, but his conversations with Elkins convinced him that the boy was not of the "incorrigible" type.

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29. See McKay, "Reforming Prisoners and Prisons."

30. The new prison press, started in 1898, is described in *Dubuque Herald*, 8/7/1898.

31. Iowa finally adopted indeterminate sentencing and created a parole board in 1907. See McKay, "Reforming Prisoners and Prisons," 201. See also Fred E. Haynes, *The Iowa Prison System* (Iowa City, 1954), 29, 59–64 (discussing reduction of sentences for good behavior, paroles, and indeterminate sentences).

32. *Mt. Vernon Hawkeye*, 2/5/1897; *Cedar Rapids Sunday Republican*, 1/23/1898; Marquis Barr To Whom It May Concern, 4/17/1897, Elkins Archives.

Given his youth and stage of development, Elkins seemed a promising candidate for full rehabilitation.[33]

Warden Barr asked the chaplain to pay special attention to the young prisoner, and the two men spent many hours talking to the boy. Barr tried to impress upon Elkins the magnitude of his crimes and the severity of the consequences, but he also sought to encourage him. He advised Elkins to strive for obedience, educational progress, and moral understanding, assuring him that, if successful, he would be rewarded with eventual release. As Barr wrote later, "society cannot afford to punish for revenge," and so "must be willing to quit when it is evident that further punishment can do no more good." Elkins would have to show that he was not a threat to society, that he knew the difference between right and wrong, and that he "would choose to do right because it is right."[34]

When Barr left Anamosa in 1892, he was pleased by Elkins's good record of behavior and moral growth. The new warden, Philander Madden, shared Barr's belief in the promise of rehabilitation, and he, too, paid special attention to Elkins. Madden agreed that Elkins should be isolated as much as possible from older inmates, and so he assigned him to duty in the prison library, where he would be close to the chapel and the schoolroom.[35]

The job in the library proved a perfect fit for Elkins. As Warden Madden later recollected, Elkins "speedily developed a deep love for the books with which he was surrounded, and every moment of his time not occupied with his duties as librarian was dedicated to the close perusal of such works as he was then able to master intelligently. Encouraged and assisted by the prison chaplain and others, his progress in this connection was nothing less than phenomenal." Elkins became a serious student, reading widely from the collection, and favoring classic works of literature and philosophy. He impressed prison officials with his eagerness and quick ability to learn, traits that were remarkable to his supporters in later years.[36]

33. Marquis Barr To Whom It May Concern, 4/17/1897, Elkins Archives.

34. *Cedar Rapids Sunday Republican*, 1/23/1898.

35. Ibid.

36. P. W. Madden To Whom It May Concern, 1/25/1898, Elkins Archives.

In the fall of 1892, when he was 15, Elkins found a published decision from the Iowa Supreme Court that seemed particularly relevant to his case. The decision quoted a jury instruction stating the common-law rule that a child between the ages of 7 and 14 is presumed to be incapable of committing a crime. Given the presumption, a child may be convicted of a crime only if the state proves by evidence that the defendant has sufficient capacity to comprehend what he had done. Without such proof, the child must be acquitted. In the particular case on appeal, the state claimed that the defendant was older than 14, making the instruction irrelevant, but both sides conceded that it was an accurate statement of the law.[37]

The opinion, dated 1879, suggested that the common law was established well before Wesley Elkins pled guilty to the murder of his father. Elkins took the case directly to Warden Madden and asked for a lawyer to investigate his right to a writ of habeas corpus.[38] Legal counsel was not provided, but Elkins did not forget the clear suggestion that his fate was illegal and unjust.[39]

WESLEY ELKINS soon learned that he had only one path to freedom. Under the Iowa Constitution, the governor had the exclusive power to pardon a convict and to commute a criminal sentence, although his power was limited in the case of an individual guilty of first-degree murder. The governor could deny the request on his own volition, but he was authorized to grant such a pardon only after seeking advice from the General Assembly. The law also required that the public be notified of an upcoming review by the legislature, so that interested parties could make their views known. Notices were to be published for four consecutive weeks in two different newspapers — one in Des Moines and one in the county where the trial had been

37. P. W. Madden to Governor Horace Boies, 10/27/1892, Elkins Archives; *State v. Fowler*, 52 Iowa 103, 2 N.W. 983 (1879).

38. P. W. Madden to Governor Horace Boies, 10/27/1892, Elkins Archives.

39. In subsequent years, lawyers opined that a writ of habeas corpus, if it had been filed within the proper time, would have secured Elkins's release from prison. *Davenport Republican*, 4/6/1902.

held — with the final one appearing at least 20 days prior to the commencement of the General Assembly.[40]

The Iowa General Assembly convened only once every two years. Its session began in early January of even-numbered years, just as the newly elected governor was inaugurated for his two-year term. To allow time for public notice before legislative review, convicted murderers filed their applications for pardon in mid-November of odd-numbered years. History showed that they did not have much chance of success. The law had been enacted in 1872; by 1895, only 11 convicted murderers had been released from prison, representing a small percentage of those who had applied.[41] The number might have been higher if the possibility of parole had been considered, but the law did not contain a specific provision allowing for conditional release of life prisoners. Governor Leslie Shaw broke with tradition for the first time in 1900, when he authorized a life prisoner to be released for a probationary period, with a subsequent pardon dependent upon his compliance with specific terms.[42] Until then, the choice was considered to be between continued incarceration and unconditional pardon.

In late November 1895 Elkins filed his first request for pardon, along with nine other convicted murderers. At 18, he was by far the youngest of the group. He cited two grounds to justify his appeal: his age when he committed the crime and the sufficiency of the punishment he had already suffered.[43]

Although Elkins addressed his application to Governor Frank Jackson, the governor's term was about to expire, so he would not be the one to make the final decision in the spring. Besieged by other requests for clemency, Governor Jackson decided not to discriminate among those requiring legislative review. He forwarded them all to the General Assembly and arranged for publication of the required notices.[44]

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40. Iowa Constitution, article 4, § 16; Iowa Code §4712 (1873).

41. *Cedar Rapids Weekly Gazette*, 4/14/1904.

42. *Sioux County Herald*, 4/18/1900.

43. Affidavit of Publication from J. R. Clarkson, publisher of *Iowa State News*, 12/20/1895, Elkins Archives.

44. *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 11/27/1895.

By that time, Elkins had come to the attention of Carl Snyder, a well-known journalist and the first of several influential men to advocate on his behalf. Snyder was only 24 years old, but he had been editor-in-chief of the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil* for four years, and he was respected throughout the state for his sharp intelligence and his confident and persuasive style.[45] He had strong views about Elkins's case that he was eager to share with the public.

In a letter to Governor Jackson, Snyder admitted that he had not met the boy in person, but he had corresponded with him and was well aware of his remarkable educational progress.[46] Snyder had investigated the case and was horrified at the injustice of a child doomed to spend the rest of his life behind bars. As Snyder wrote to the governor, "no sane man" could agree with the "bungling notion that a child can be treated as a felon and a convict." The result seemed absolutely immoral, and Snyder was convinced that it must be wrong as a matter of law. He appealed to the governor to consider the case not just because of Elkins but also because of the appalling precedent the decision, if allowed to stand, would set in the state.[47]

People in Clayton County and its environs may not have heard much about Wesley Elkins in the years since he had been imprisoned, but they had not forgotten John and Hattie Elkins or the bloody havoc wreaked by the boy murderer. They did not take well to the news that someone at such a distance — across the state in Council Bluffs — was interfering in the legal consequences imposed by their judge for a crime that had occurred in their midst. Clayton County citizens already had reason to feel isolated from other Iowans and resentful at taking direction from outsiders. Located in the northeast corner of Iowa,

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45. "Carl Snyder, Pioneer Economic Statistician and Monetarist," *History of Political Economy* 10 (1978), 455; *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, 2/19/1946.

46. Carl Snyder to Governor F. D. Jackson, 11/22/1895, Elkins Archives. Elkins had contacted Snyder first, in response to an editorial of Snyder's advocating that juvenile offenders should be segregated from other prisoners. *Des Moines Daily Capital,* 4/21/1902.

47. Carl Snyder to Governor F. D. Jackson, 11/22/1895, Elkins Archives. In his letter, Snyder refers to another letter he had written to the *Iowa State Register* setting forth his views on the Elkins case, but it appears that the *Register* did not publish it.

Clayton County was largely rural and agricultural, made up of farms linked to small towns, and without a large metropolitan area. Beginning in the mid-1880s, its heavily German immigrant population contributed to making it one of the few Democratic counties in a state generally controlled by Republicans. Usually in the minority in state government, its representatives, speaking for their constituents, often strongly opposed state policies and directives. Residents of Clayton County, for example, had strongly protested the Republican push to pass prohibition laws, and attempts to enforce those that were enacted generated heated controversy and hostility.[48] And state laws were a different matter than local crime, which was investigated, tried, and judged by elected county officials. In the minds of many Clayton County citizens, the fate of Wesley Elkins should be up to them to decide.

In early December, the *Cedar Rapids Republican* reported that "a movement is on foot" to secure a pardon for Elkins — one of the most infamous criminals in the state — who had gained the support of the "brilliant newspaper correspondent" Carl Snyder.[49] According to the newspaper, Clayton County was convinced that Snyder, acquainted with the boy only from his letters and at a distance, was sadly misinformed, and his sympathy misplaced. Those who knew the boy understood his true nature: he was a "fiend . . . born with murder in his heart," a criminal who "would indulge his murderous propensity on the slightest provocation."[50] His inner nature was immune to the cultivating influence of education or anything else, and efforts at rehabilitation were destined to fail. His release would be a terrible mistake with dangerous consequences.

Proof of this conclusion was offered by a man referred to as "one of Clayton County's most distinguished residents" who claimed expertise because "he knew the young criminal well

48. Realto E. Price, *History of Clayton County, Iowa: From the Earliest Historical Times Down to the Present* (Chicago, 1916), 240–44; Richard Jensen, "Iowa, Wet or Dry? Prohibition and the Fall of the GOP," in *Iowa History Reader,* ed. Marvin Bergman (Iowa City, 2008), 267–70.

49. *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 12/1/1895. News of Elkins's application had been reported in the *Cedar Rapids Daily Republican* a few days earlier (11/28/1985).

50. *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 12/1/1895.

[and] had conversed with him often relative to the crime." Although this individual asked not to be publicly identified as the source, he agreed to a lengthy interview, in which he described incidents that were not part of the record and expressed his strong negative impressions of the boy. Two years later, when the *Republican* changed its position to support Elkins, the editor identified the earlier anonymous source as the lawyer charged with defending Elkins in 1888, implying that both the additional details he offered and his personal assumptions about Elkins almost certainly came from confidential communications with his young client that should not have been disclosed to the public.[51]

The lawyer recalled the boy's planning and execution of the "diabolical deed," provoked only by a "mild scolding" from his parents, and then his reaction when his lies were discovered: he admitted what he had done in a tone of "supreme indifference, never displaying a single sign of sorrow . . . [or] any human feeling whatever," and "without a shadow of remorse." The lawyer claimed that Elkins had displayed an uncontrollable impulse to violence even before the murders. As a child, he had terrorized his schoolmates, and since he had been at the penitentiary in Anamosa, he had assaulted other prisoners. The editorial closed with a solemn warning against trusting Elkins's show of reform: "It is evident that through some cause — we know not what — this boy is possessed with a passion to kill. He can not . . . be released. He should be treated kindly, educated and given a chance to earn something, but he should not be set at liberty. The chances are too desperate."[52]

Isolated from society since he was a child, Elkins may not have anticipated the monstrous depiction of him or the vehement reactions to his request. He was taken aback by the factual inaccuracies, and he was quick to respond with a five-page handwritten letter addressed to the editor of the *Republican*. On the advice of prison officials, he sent the letter to the governor rather than to the newspaper, with a brief cover note asking for

51. *Cedar Rapids Sunday Republican*, 1/23/1898.

52. *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 12/1/1895.

the governor's help in correcting errors in fact that would affect legislators in their consideration of his case.[53]

Elkins objected to the account of the "anonymous" Clayton County citizen, characterizing it as "one mass of falsehood, from beginning to end, brought out by prejudice and passions with hardly a word of truth in it." Elkins refuted the specific charges said to prove his violent nature, denying reports that he had been feared or avoided by his schoolmates, and that he had ever attacked a fellow prisoner. Prison officials and guards, he said, would confirm his exemplary record. Elkins also disputed that he had struck out against his parents as retribution for a "mild scolding," as stated by the *Republican*. He offered a different account of his childhood, one he had previously confided to Warden Barr. "If my father and stepmother had treated me in any degree kindly, I would not be behind these walls today. . . . They were cruel in the extreme; many a night I have been sent to bed, with my back so sore from a whipping, that I could not lay on it; . . . goaded on by such treatment, which I did not deserve, I committed the rash deed [and I] shall always deplore it to the end of my days."[54] Elkins asked the newspaper to print a retraction. It did not do so; it neither acknowledged receipt of the letter from Elkins nor admitted any mistakes in its story.

In the spring of 1896, Elkins was notified that his request had been rejected by the House Committee on Pardons. Citing the "meager showing of the facts," the committee recommended that the appeal be "indefinitely postponed without prejudice." Although three lifers were released from prison that spring, Elkins remained behind bars.[55]

EIGHTEEN MONTHS LATER, in the fall of 1897, Elkins filed his second application for pardon with the outgoing governor, Francis Drake. He repeated the grounds from the previous ap-

53. John W. Elkins to the Editor of the *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 12/2/1895, Elkins Archives; John W. Elkins to Governor Frank D. Jackson, 12/3/1895, Elkins Archives.

54. John W. Elkins to the Editor of the *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 12/2/1895, Elkins Archives.

55. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Twenty-Sixth General Assembly of the State of Iowa* (1896), 773, 914; *Cedar Rapids Weekly Gazette*, 4/14/1902.

peal: his age and the punishment already imposed. This time, he also expressed "bitter regret" and noted his good conduct record and educational progress as proof that he was "fitting himself for a better and higher life."[56] When Governor Drake forwarded the application to the General Assembly, the reaction was dramatically different than two years earlier. Thanks to a new and influential advocate, Elkins's plea garnered widespread support and statewide publicity.

In December 1897 the *Anamosa Eureka* published a long letter written by Elkins to Carl Snyder. The *Eureka* had received the letter from Warden Madden, along with a personal note affirming its authenticity. Madden expressed his confidence that Elkins, if released, would pose no threat to the public. He hoped that the letter might attract the attention of someone who could advocate for Elkins in the General Assembly.[57]

When the *Eureka* published Elkins's letter, it noted the author's "thoughtfulness and grace of expression, as well as beauty of penmanship and correctness of punctuation," especially from a young man who had not enjoyed much formal education as a child. The newspaper added an editorial comment commending the substantive strength of the appeal, and recommending that Elkins be released from prison.[58]

In the letter, Elkins presented a picture of himself that was in stark contrast to images conjured up by his crimes. Despite his unique circumstances, Elkins expressed deep and universal emotions: confusion and sorrow as he looked back on his tragic past; desperate anxiety, fear, and a glimmer of hope as he faced his uncertain future. He did not present a legal argument for pardon, nor did he defend his actions. Instead, he described himself as a boy "who had not yet reached the age of reason" when he had committed his crimes, and who had now been in

56. Wesley Elkins, Application for Pardon to Governor F. M. Drake, 1897, Elkins Archives.

57. *Des Moines Daily Capital,* 4/21/1902. To the warden, it seemed an especially good time to release rehabilitated inmates. Economic hardship in the state had caused an increase in crime, and Anamosa was dangerously overcrowded. The population had more than doubled since Madden had assumed his office, and prisoners were sharing cells, with some even forced to camp out in the yard. *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 1/4/1897; Haynes, *The Iowa Prison System*, 14–15.

58. *Anamosa Eureka,* 1/28/1897; reprinted in *Mt. Vernon Hawkeye,* 2/5/1897.

prison as long as was "necessary for the benefit of good morals." He told of his constant efforts to arm himself for the future by "hard study" and by cultivating self-reliance, even while facing the prospect of lifelong incarceration, and wondering "how much strain will my mind stand before I shall become a physical and mental degenerate?"[59] His determination and his sincere expressions of anguish earned him the sympathy of many readers.

When the letter was reprinted in the *Mt. Vernon Hawkeye*, it caught the eye of Professor James Harlan of Cornell College. In 1897 Harlan was 52 years old and at the midpoint of his career. He had graduated from Cornell in 1869, married a college classmate the same year, and then, after a four-year stint as public school superintendent in Cedar Rapids, returned to Cornell as the first alumni professor. Harlan taught courses in mathematics and astronomy, but he was also fascinated by the fields of psychology and ethics. In 1881 he was appointed to the newly created position of vice president of the college, an office he was to hold for 27 years until he assumed the presidency in 1908.[60]

Reserved and modest in manner, Harlan was cautious in making decisions. According to a colleague, his approach "revealed that fine balance of intellect that is characteristic of the true scientist, weighing both sides of the question carefully and then coming to a conclusion only after marshalling all the facts involved." As the college's top disciplinary authority, Harlan had developed an absorbing interest in the moral and spiritual development of young people. Without children of his own, he focused on his influence over youth in the wider community.[61]

Professor Harlan knew Elkins's story and realized that, at age 20, he was now just the age of many of his students. Harlan was deeply impressed by Elkins's determination and expressiveness. As a teacher of psychology, Harlan was also fascinated on an abstract level, considering what the case suggested about mental and moral growth, and about how an individual might be

59. Ibid.

60. *Mt. Vernon Hawkeye,* 12/28/1929; H. J. Burgstahler, "James Elliott Harlan, 1845–1933," *Cornell College Bulletin* 35, no. 8 (1934); *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 4/21/1902. This James Harlan should not be confused with the Iowa legislator who played a dominant role in state and national politics until the mid-1870s.

61. Burgstahler, "James Elliott Harlan."

affected by education, environmental conditions, and example. In his typical methodical fashion, Harlan began to solicit information and investigate the facts.

Clayton County residents shared their views of Elkins as a born murderer, not susceptible to reform. A lawyer from the area quoted from the boy's confession, describing how he had planned and carried out the crimes. The lawyer remembered the boy's lack of emotion or remorse, and related the widely accepted theory that Elkins had inherited his "murderous disposition" from his mother. A local minister also wrote to oppose Elkins's release, describing the boy as "coldly cruelly maliciously vindictive"; his permanent incarceration was the only way to protect the public safety. "We have had enough 'degenerates' loose in the country, murdering by the wholesale. Society is to be considered as well as the individual."[62]

Professor Harlan knew that many criminologists doubted that heredity led to immutable criminal dispositions. They emphasized instead the significant influences of outside forces during maturation. Harlan was also encouraged by the reports he received about Elkins from those at Anamosa. In a letter to Harlan, former Warden Barr described Elkins's childish appearance when he first arrived, and his own conclusions: that Elkins had been driven to commit his crimes by mistreatment from his parents, and that he was too young at the time to understand what he had done. Barr and the other wardens who knew Elkins spoke in the most positive terms about his development since then, noting his educational advancement and excellent behavior and denying any show of violence on his part. To prison officials, Wesley Elkins was an exemplar of institutional success, and he deserved his chance at freedom.[63]

When Harlan visited Elkins, he was impressed by his intelligence; he seemed "possessed of really brilliant mental equipment."[64] Initially intrigued by the theoretical issues, Harlan gradually developed a more personal and paternal bond with Elkins. Early in 1898, Harlan decided to work toward Elkins's

62. *Cedar Rapids Republican,* 1/23/1898.

63. Ibid.; P. W. Madden To Whom It May Concern, 1/25/1898, Elkins Archives.

64. *Des Moines Daily News*, 2/24/1898.

release, and he remained one of his strongest advocates for years to come. Elkins, for his part, recognized and appreciated Harlan's empathy and support, and overcame his natural reticence, allowing a "frank and open exchange."[65]

In mid-December 1897 the *Iowa State Register* and the *Elkader Argus* published notices that Elkins was applying for a pardon.[66] Just as they had two years earlier, many Clayton County residents reacted to the news with great hostility. Petitions opposing Elkins's pardon circulated throughout Clayton and adjoining counties, gathering more than 1,300 signatures by the time they were presented to the legislature later that spring.[67]

Hiram C. Bishop, the editor and publisher of the *Clayton County Democrat*, was especially outspoken in his objections. A longtime resident of the county, Bishop had served as its school superintendent for seven years before starting the *Democrat* in 1893. He claimed to remember Elkins as "an unusually bright and attractive lad . . . but if you looked closely you could see a peculiar expression in his steel-like eyes" indicating that he was "born with murder in his heart." Known as a man of strong convictions and vigorous personality, Bishop was also politically ambitious. Active in the Democratic Party, and already influential in Clayton County through his newspaper, Bishop was eager to prove that his voice could be heard throughout the state.[68]

According to an editorial in the *Democrat*, Elkins had revealed his character by his crimes, "demonstrating beyond a doubt that he possesses a morbid, beastly nature which in all probability he can never overcome this side of the grave." Deformed at birth by "prenatal influence," Elkins displayed "idiosyncrasies [which] may at any moment prompt him in a fit of anger or some fancied wrong to slay his fellow man." The citizens of Clayton County knew firsthand about the boy's uncontrollable "carnal nature," and, since it was their safety that

65. *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 1/23/1898.

66. Affidavit of Publication from J. R. Clarkson, publisher of the *Iowa State Register*, 12/13/1897, Elkins Archives; Affidavit of Publication from Herbert Cook, publisher of the *Elkader Argus*, 1/20/1898, Elkins Archives.

67. *Fredericksburg News*, 3/3/1898; *Semi-Weekly Iowa State Reporter*, 2/25/1898.

68. *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 1/15/1902; Price, *History of Clayton County*, 48–50; *Elkader Register*, 3/24/1921.

would be endangered by his release, they should be the ones to decide. The *Cedar Rapids Republican* echoed these views, repeating the conclusion that Elkins was a dangerous degenerate who would not hesitate to murder again.[69]

Less than two weeks later, though, the *Republican* publicized a much different image of Elkins, devoting its entire front page, seven columns across, to the case. The *Republican*'s editor, William Boyd, explained his renewed interest in the case: Soon after endorsing the opposition to Elkins's release, Boyd was contacted by James Harlan, someone he respected as a leading educator, who suggested that Boyd had reached his conclusions without sufficient research. Harlan asked Boyd to study the data from his investigation and travel with him to Anamosa to meet Elkins.[70]

The bold headline in the *Republican* asked the question "Shall Wesley Elkins Be Granted a Pardon?" In slightly smaller type, the paper suggested the answer: "Earnest Students of the Remarkable Case Have Concluded that Society Will Not be Endangered If the Pardon Prayed For be Granted."[71] The newspaper printed arguments on both sides of the question, but the editor had clearly decided to support Elkins.

Letters from Clayton County described the crime and shared the theory that Elkins was destined to continue his criminal conduct. Statements from the wardens at Anamosa expressed their disagreement, describing the young man they knew and conveying their confidence in his complete rehabilitation.

Most of the text on the front page, though, consisted of writings by Elkins; four of his letters, including one to Harlan and one to the General Assembly, were printed in their entirety. The *Republican* editor knew that some readers might doubt whether Elkins, with little formal schooling, could be the author, given the perfect punctuation, elegant diction, and fine analysis, which "would do credit to a trained lawyer." But Boyd, having watched the young man compose a letter with the same handwriting and exceptional style as the others, assured his readers that the letters were authentic.

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69. *Clayton County Democrat*, 1/11/1898; *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 1/15/1898.

70. William R. Boyd, "James Elliott Harlan, 1845–1933," *Cornell College Bulletin* 35, no. 8 (1934).

71. *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 1/23/1898.

Elkins made his case with eloquence. Although he did not rely on legal precedent, he noted his young age at the time of the crimes and his inability to comprehend the consequences. He wrote of his remorse and sorrow, adding that "words cannot express the regret I feel." He then described his devotion to his education and moral progress since he had been at Anamosa. His appeal to the legislature was personal and emotional:

> In the long years I have spent in this prison I have stood alone. I have carried a weight of prejudice that at times was almost too heavy to bear, yet notwithstanding all this I was buoyed up by hope. I felt that the time would come when justice would impel men to set aside the sentence in my case. With hope of liberty as an incentive I have struggled alone and unaided to develop and cultivate my mind so as to fit myself to fill the position of a man among men. . . .
>
> My purpose is to appeal to your reason and sense of justice, avoiding sentiment. . . .
>
> I committed a terrible crime, that I know, but has not my punishment been severe — to spend my boyhood behind prison walls? . . . Could you take enough interest in me to look up my case, and examine my prison record, and if you are satisfied, set aside the sentence in my case? You will not regret your kindness to a boy who finds himself almost alone in the world, with a fate worse than death staring him in the face.
>
> I cannot tell you what it would mean to me. It was so long ago that I came here I can hardly remember what it was to be free. . . . I have never known what it was to be a boy like other boys. Now I am a young man, determined to make a success in life; and I am sure if you have confidence in me I will not abuse it.
>
> I ask you to think what it means to grow up in a prison, to feel that you might be out in the world making your own way — or, at least, to struggle to do your best — and then realize that you are shut up here — for life! Sometimes, thinking about it, I feel as if I would go mad. I do not believe any one else can understand what it means.
>
> I make this appeal to your sense of justice. I appeal to your humanity to give me another chance to begin anew my unhappy life. Will you help me?[72]

72. *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 1/23/1898.

The *Republican* added a final comment after this letter from Elkins in support of his release. The note acknowledged that some believed that a child could be "cursed before his birth," and so doomed by his heredity to a life of crime. But the alternative theory seemed more likely, with character viewed as less immutable and moral consciousness a product of environmental and social influences. Thus, even a child subject to negative prenatal influences and who had done wrong at an early age could develop in a positive direction under the right conditions, learning self-control and abiding by moral principles. Elkins seemed a case in point, and so, according to the *Republican,* he now deserved an opportunity to prove that he deserved his freedom. The *Republican* offered a novel idea to ease the fear that he might be a threat: His release could be conditional at first, requiring that he remain under the guardianship of a responsible person. Misconduct would mean his return to prison, while satisfactory completion of the probationary period would end with a full and complete pardon.[73]

The *Republican*'s views did not convince those in Clayton County. The county's senior senator, John Everall, a longtime resident and leading member of the Democratic Party, took the lead in opposing Elkins's pardon. Pledging to fight to keep him in prison, Everall distributed strongly worded letters and petitions from his constituents and, according to one report, did all he could "to arouse the feelings of the legislators against the criminal."[74]

Professor Harlan was the strongest advocate for Elkins's pardon, with his emphasis always on proof of rehabilitation. He continued to solicit testimonials from Anamosa, and he traveled to Des Moines to talk to legislative committees, promising that

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73. *Cedar Rapids Republican,* 1/23/1898. In the past, life prisoners had been granted unconditional pardons if their applications were approved. The terms suggested by the newspaper for Wesley Elkins were followed closely when Governor Shaw issued the first parole to a life prisoner in 1900. See *Sioux County Herald,* April 18, 1900. The idea of probation for a convicted murderer was in contrast to a recommendation from the *Republican* two years earlier: that all those convicted of first-degree murder should be put to death, and that no one sentenced to life in prison should be pardoned unless there was clear doubt as to the defendant's guilt in the case. *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 4/26/1896.

74. *Cedar Rapids Republican,* 2/5/1898.

he would make it possible for Elkins, if released, to continue his education. In the words of one newspaper, Harlan's efforts, "so evidently prompted by the highest motives and made after the most thorough investigation, have proved a tower of strength to the Elkins case."[75]

At Anamosa, Elkins received a steady stream of visitors throughout the spring. Members of the house and senate pardon committees interviewed him, and other legislators traveled to the prison on their own. Two ministers from Clayton County, initially against the pardon, changed their opinions after their trip to Anamosa: If Elkins could be placed with some trustworthy man, they would no longer oppose his release. After a two-hour interview, Senator Everall also admitted that his feelings had softened somewhat. If, at some point in the future, he could be convinced that Elkins was not a danger to others, he was "quite ready to be charitable."[76]

Sentiment among legislators was evenly divided. Supporters expressed optimism, but they were concerned that a defeat would prejudice Elkins's chances in the future. Senator William Mitchell, a friend of Harlan's, proposed a solution that he hoped would satisfy both sides. In deference to the strong opposition, the petition would be withdrawn for now, but it would be considered again in two years by the next General Assembly. At that time, Senator Everall and the people of Clayton County would not fight it. Senator Everall could not guarantee the support of his constituents, but he thought the suggestion made sense. In late March, the *Cedar Rapids Republican* reported that the petition had been withdrawn and that legislators had "tacitly agreed" to recommend Elkins for pardon in 1900. That story was followed by a final letter from Elkins addressed to the legislature, expressing his appreciation for all efforts on his behalf and his great hope of entering college in the future so as to "lay the foundation for a true and industrious manhood."[77]

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75. *Des Moines Daily News,* 2/24/1898; *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 2/27/1898.

76. *Anamosa Eureka*, 2/10/1898; *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 2/20/1898, 2/23/1898, 2/15/1898.

77. W. O. Mitchell to Governor Leslie M. Shaw, 11/24/1899, Elkins Archives; *Cedar Rapids Republican,* 2/5/1898, 3/23/1898.

WESLEY ELKINS filed his third request for pardon in November 1899. This one was addressed to Governor Leslie Shaw.[78] Having maintained his exemplary record of conduct, Elkins had good reason to feel optimistic.

Governor Shaw was about to begin his second two-year term. Although relatively unknown when first elected, having been put forth by conservatives in the Republican Party to ward off a challenge from the more progressive wing, Shaw had earned widespread praise while in office. He was easily reelected in November 1899, with Republicans remaining firmly in control of the legislature. Although relieved by the election results, Governor Shaw knew that he faced a difficult political struggle in January. Six years earlier, Republicans in the General Assembly had elected John Gear as U.S. Senator from Iowa, with Albert Cummins, a leading voice of progressives in the party, as his disappointed opponent. Senator Gear was now elderly and in feeble health — he was too ill to campaign — but conservatives had decided on him for a second six-year term. Cummins's supporters believed that their man was entitled to the post, and they had waged a long and bitter fight on state and local levels through the fall of 1899. The conservatives were to be successful in January, with Senator Gear reelected (only to die five months later), but the split in the Republican Party, exposed so clearly in the last months of 1899, would deepen as the new century began.[79]

Governor Shaw was not anxious to antagonize either side. While indebted to the conservatives, he also appreciated the popular appeal of progressive leaders. And Shaw was an ambitious man, with national aspirations. Many said that he hoped to be Iowa's senator someday, and achieving that goal depended upon broad Republican support.[80]

Shaw was familiar with the facts of Elkins's case. As the new governor in the spring of 1898, he had followed the legislative

78. J. Wesley Elkins to Governor Leslie M. Shaw, 11/11/1899, Elkins Archives.

79. *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 11/8/1899; Russell B. Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics: A Historical Study of Its Origins and Development: 1870–1958* (East Lansing, MI, 1959), 210; Cyrenus Cole, *A History of the People of Iowa* (Cedar Rapids, 1921), 514.

80. Cole, *A History of the People of Iowa*, 515.

controversy, realizing that a positive recommendation would put the decision in his hands. Shaw knew that James Harlan was one of Elkins's strongest supporters and that opposition from Clayton County would be intense. Senator Everall would not be in the senate in 1900, but he had been replaced by Hiram C. Bishop — one of Elkins's most vehement opponents in the past.[81]

Governor Shaw was close friends with Harlan, who had been a young professor at Cornell when Shaw was a student there. Bishop's ideas, though, seemed more persuasive to Shaw, especially given new scientific and popular writings warning that moral degeneracy would spread, weakening the populace, if those who carried the trait were allowed to reproduce. The risks of releasing Elkins seemed significant. As the county attorney who had prosecuted Elkins in Clayton County wrote to Shaw, freeing Elkins would not only endanger other lives, but it would allow him to "beget more of his kind," spreading his affliction throughout society.[82]

To avoid political conflict, Governor Shaw decided that the General Assembly should not debate Elkins's case. He forwarded four applications from convicted murderers to the General Assembly, but Elkins's was not among them. Shaw wrote directly to Harlan to tell him of his decision. "If the General Assembly were to authorize his pardon, I should be compelled to decline it; and this being true, I ought not to put the state to the expense of an investigation." Shaw expressed his regret at disappointing "one of the best friends I ever had," but the evidence — that Elkins was afflicted with "abnormal proclivities" that "he was incapable of controlling" — seemed too strong for Shaw to ignore, especially given the strong public sentiment against Elkins.[83]

The news distressed Harlan, who traveled to Des Moines to meet with the governor and to remind him that legislators in the previous session had promised Elkins that he would be recommended for pardon. Shaw would not reconsider. Eventually,

81. Senator Everall declined to run for re-election in the fall of 1899. *Waterloo Daily Reporter*, 8/19/1899; *Waterloo Daily Courier*, 9/26/1899. Hiram C. Bishop narrowly won the election in November.

82. Robert Quigley to Governor Leslie M. Shaw, 2/2/1898, Elkins Archives.

83. *Semi-Weekly Cedar Falls Gazette*, 1/9/1900; Leslie M. Shaw to James E. Harlan, 11/23/1899, Elkins Archives.

Harlan persuaded him to offer some small consolation to Elkins; he agreed to forward a pardon request from Elkins to the Twenty-Ninth General Assembly in January 1902. Shaw did not expect to be in office that spring, so if the legislature approved the request, the final decision would be up to his successor.[84]

POLITICAL UPHEAVAL and social change in Iowa marked the two years that passed before Elkins filed his fourth application for pardon in November 1901. Woman suffrage was a topic of great debate, and many of its strongest proponents were also influential in raising issues about children. The National Congress of Mothers, an organization formed to focus on child welfare, held its annual meeting in Des Moines in 1900, and Iowa members created a state chapter soon after that. From its inception, the group worked hard throughout Iowa to publicize contemporary ideas about the importance of schooling and parental guidance in early development, and to propose new explanations for the serious problem of juvenile crime, emphasizing circumstances such as neglect, poverty, and negative influences at home. The notion that children should be treated differently under the law was also gaining strong advocates, with supporters arguing that Iowa should follow the lead of Illinois, which had established the first juvenile court system in 1899. And many supported the establishment of a separate reformatory for youthful criminals in Iowa, believing that children, still at an early stage of development, were most dramatically shaped by their environment and by those around them, and so offered the greatest promise of rehabilitation.[85]

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84. James E. Harlan to Governor Leslie M. Shaw, 10/28/1901, Elkins Archives; Governor Leslie M. Shaw to James E. Harlan, 11/23/1899, Elkins Archives.

85. *Twenty Years of Work for Child Welfare by National Congress of Mothers and Parent Teacher Associations* (Washington, DC, 1917), 20–21. For the history of the juvenile court in Iowa, as well as the role of the National Congress of Mothers, see Hazel Hillis, "Securing the Juvenile Court Law in Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 23 (1942), 161–88. Discussions of the theories of juvenile crime that were becoming more accepted at the turn of the century are found in "The Juvenile Offender," *Bulletin of Iowa Institutions* 4 (1902), 452–60; Platt, *The Child Savers,* 46–74; and Steven L. Schlossman, *Love and the American Delinquent: The Theory and Practice of "Progressive" Juvenile Justice, 1825–1920* (Chicago, 1977), 57–78.

The increased public attention to children was a favorable trend for Elkins. Arguments stressing the mistreatment he had suffered as a child were consistent with modern thinking. And his transformation into the articulate and intelligent young man who now pleaded for his release seemed to justify the hope that a moral consciousness could be developed under the influences of education and positive adult guidance.[86]

On the other hand, many people continued to hold to the notion of the born criminal. The notion dated back to the early nineteenth century, when scientists in the new field of phrenology suggested that deformities of the moral sense were associated with physical abnormalities of the brain and could be identified by the contours of the skull. Those theories were eventually discredited, but there was continued widespread acceptance of the related notion that criminality could have biological roots.

Most writers recognized a continuum between the two extremes, suggesting an evolutionary scale. Those incapable of change were at the bottom, with offenders ranked above them depending upon degrees of inherent abnormality. Those at higher levels offered far greater potential for reform when they were exposed to positive influences.[87]

While prison officials expressed confidence that they could identify the most seriously incorrigible by behavior and attitude, the child-saving movement was influential in advocating that the age of the offender be considered as most significant. Under common law, the defendant's age had long been an important factor, with courts recognizing a presumption that a child under the age of 14 was incapable of acting with criminal intent. As reformers grew more concerned about the increasing number of juvenile offenders, they cited theories of mental and emotional development that were consistent with the legal rule, and stressed the importance to children of education and positive parental guidance.[88] A child who was deprived of those beneficial influences was more likely to be maladjusted and far more prone to delinquency and criminal behavior. Most commenta-

86. See Koons, "Wesley Elkins," 5.

87. Rafter, *Creating Born Criminals*, 121.

88. See Blomberg and Lucken, *American Penology*, 88.

tors accepted that physiology could also play a role, but they insisted that even children with inborn criminal tendencies were malleable enough to be properly trained, given early intervention and effective support.[89]

According to one writer in 1898, "Environment of the right sort may do much to correct any of the recognized vices of heredity," and that optimistic view was widely accepted.[90] Yet the role of "nature" was never completely discredited. In fact, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the image of the born criminal was triggering a new and heightened public fear.

Identifying themselves as criminal anthropologists, European scientists had previously suggested the existence of a separate criminal class that was physically and psychologically different from other people. By the late 1890s, American writers were advancing those theories, describing inherited abnormalities that would be passed down through the generations. Born criminals were now described not only as victims of their biological makeup, but, more significantly, as carriers of the mental defect that inevitably led to crime. At a time of widespread social problems — immigration, poverty, urban squalor, and disease — the danger that society could be further weakened by propagation of the criminal class seemed a serious threat.[91]

As the new century dawned, some scientists suggested that relying on evolutionary theory could reduce crime and strengthen future generations. Specific techniques were devised to diagnose criminals, then to segregate them into defective types. For those identified as born criminals, permanent incarceration was now seen as necessary to protect society from their acts, as well as to prevent their reproduction.[92]

During the final years of debate over Elkins, eugenic thinking was in its early stages. As the twentieth century progressed, eugenics would be harnessed to justify more radical policies, culminating in the brutal race-based strategies of the Nazis and

89. Ibid., 83–89; Platt, *The Child Savers*, 18–45.

90. Platt, *The Child Savers*, 52, quoting a statement by Henry D. Chapin at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1898.

91. Rafter, *Creating Born Criminals*, 110–32; Platt, *The Child Savers*, 18-45.

92. Rafter, *Creating Born Criminals*, 123–24.

indelibly linking the field to ideological fanaticism.[93] In the early 1900s, though, such ideas were just emerging, and the central principle — that society could be improved by preventing reproduction by selected individuals — stimulated new arguments against Elkins. The possibility that he would have children, passing on his inherited criminal disposition to future generations, was now put forth as one of the most dangerous risks of his release.[94]

Further complicating the matter, Iowa politics were tumultuous in 1901, characterized by bitter infighting within the controlling Republican Party.[95] Senator Gear's death just five months after his re-election in January 1900 had triggered dissension. Despite evidence that he had promised the position to Albert Cummins, Governor Shaw abided by the wishes of the conservatives and appointed Jonathan Dolliver to finish Gear's term. That rejection proved to be too much for Cummins and his progressive supporters. In a bold move, Cummins announced that he would campaign for the Republican nomination for governor, mobilizing his large personal following to challenge conservative leaders. After a vigorous campaign throughout Iowa, denouncing the corrupting influence of special interests on state government before enthusiastic audiences, Cummins went on to win the Republican primary in August and the general election in November. He continued as governor until 1908, when he was elected to the U.S. Senate; his strong leadership in Iowa reflected a significant change in the state's political climate, consistent with the trend toward progressivism throughout the country.

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93. For discussions of eugenics in the twentieth century, see Aaron Gillette, *Eugenics and the Nature-Nurture Debate in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 2007); Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race* (New York, 2003); and Amy Vogel, "Regulating Degeneracy: Eugenic Sterilization in Iowa, 1911–1977," *Annals of Iowa* 54 (1995), 119–43.

94. *Des Moines Daily Capital,* 4/2/1902.

95. For the struggle within the Republican Party during these years, and the rise of progressivism in Iowa and elsewhere, see Benjamin F. Gue, *A History of Iowa* (New York, 1903), 205–7; Fleming Fraker Jr., "The Beginnings of the Progressive Movement in Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 35 (1961), 578–93; Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics,* 210; and Leland Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames, 1974), 216–33.

In the late fall of 1901, when it was clear that Governor Shaw would not be running for re-election, Harlan wrote to remind him of his promise to forward a pardon request from Elkins to the General Assembly. Despite his personal objections, Shaw abided by his word. Setting a new record, Shaw forwarded 13 appeals from convicted murderers for review, including one received from Elkins.[96]

In early January, Albert Cummins was inaugurated as governor.[97] Legislators were in town for the festivities and for the start of the Twenty-ninth General Assembly. Throughout the spring, people continued to come to Des Moines from locales throughout the state to make their views known to their representatives.

In the early months of 1902, women were especially in evidence in the capital, eager to advocate for causes that were of particular interest to them. Hundreds attended the three-day meeting of the state chapter of the National Congress of Mothers in late January, visiting the statehouse to argue for compulsory education laws and a juvenile court system. A month later, women crowded into the legislative galleries to hear the senate debate the woman suffrage bill. Supporters celebrated victory after the vote in the senate, only to be bitterly disappointed a month later, when the bill was defeated in the house. Newspapers vividly described the statehouse scene, with women filling the galleries and even crowding into the cloak rooms, and then forming an angry "stampede" into the corridors after the vote.[98]

The pardon for Elkins would be another controversial topic for debate in 1902: the *Des Moines Daily Capital* had begun to publicize the case in November, Professor Harlan was expected to champion Elkins's cause again, and Senator Hiram Bishop declared that Clayton County would stand firm in its opposition,

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96. James E. Harlan to Governor Leslie M. Shaw 10/28/1901, Elkins Archives; *Des Moines Daily Capital,* 1/15/1902; *Iowa State Register*, 11/21/1901. By contrast, only four applications had been forwarded for legislative review two years earlier. *Semi-Weekly Cedar Falls Gazette,* 1/9/1900. When the report of pardons and paroles was made public in mid-January 1902, Governor Shaw was widely criticized for the apparent increase in leniency, and the General Assembly was urged to act with great discretion when it considered the applications of the 13 convicted murderers. *Des Moines Daily News,* 1/15/1902.

97. *Davenport Daily Republican*, 1/16/1902; *Des Moines Daily News*, 1/16/1902.

98. *Des Moines Daily News*, 1/27/1902, 1/28/1902, 2/26/1902, 3/13/1902.

with 90 percent of residents having already signed new petitions on the matter.[99]

As in 1898, Elkins was his own best advocate. His writings were circulated to legislators and to the public. This time, he addressed a letter directly to "The Citizens of Clayton County," expressing his remorse for his past actions and pleading with them to "thoroughly investigate my conduct, record, my present mental and moral condition, before taking any action adverse to my release." He described how education had changed him and developed his moral consciousness, so that "the evil tendencies . . . in the boy [have] been permanently eradicated in the man." And he begged the people of Clayton County to act with Christian charity, "to temper justice with mercy," and to give him the chance to rejoin society and prove that he could "live in obedience to the law of the land, and in harmony with the law of God, and with the rightful claims of my fellow men."[100]

An editorial in the *Arlington News* (the newspaper in a small town in Fayette County, just a couple of miles west of the Clayton County boundary), reprinted in the *Des Moines Daily Capital*, purported to respond to Elkins on behalf of the citizens of Clayton County, warning him that they would not be deceived by his claims. "Sentimentalists" might be swayed by his educated words, but not those who remembered his awful bloody crimes and then his lies, when he had "gone about town talking about the affair as if a couple of rabbits had been slain." People in Clayton County would not be fooled by Elkins now.

> If young Elkins is doing so well in the prison, is studying so ardently, is so well demeanored and behaved and is making a man of himself at such rapid strides, it would be cruel to let him out and thereby subject him to the temptations and pitfalls of a wicked world and the liability of a downfall. He is young yet and the proper place for him is undoubtedly where he is in the prison.
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> When . . . desperadoes and murderers [such as Elkins] are once safely in the penitentiary what in the name of common sense is the use in taking chances by letting them out. Let them alone.[101]

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99. *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 11/1/1901, 1/15/1902.

100. J. Wesley Elkins to Citizens of Clayton County, 1/6/1902, Elkins Archives.

101. *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 2/12/1902 (reprinted from *Arlington News).*

Through the first months of 1902, the Elkins case attracted excited attention, and supporters were well organized to make the case on his behalf. Harlan visited the capitol, meeting with legislators individually and offering interviews to reporters. Committee members who traveled to Anamosa reported that they were positively impressed by Elkins, a "young man of great intelligence and thoroughly well educated." Newspapers reprinted letters from Elkins and commendatory reports from Anamosa. One morning legislators found small pamphlets on their desks, featuring a photograph of Elkins as an 11-year-old schoolboy. Inside were statements from the wardens and the letter from Elkins addressed to those in Clayton County.[102]

The house and senate Committees on Pardon moved forward with their investigations, holding joint sessions to interview prison administrators, Professor Harlan, and Clayton County residents. Supporters were surprised by the continuing intense opposition, and they began to accept conditional release as the best solution. A resolution recommending parole rather than pardon was drafted, and Professor Harlan offered his assurance that he would personally take charge of Elkins. In a letter addressed directly to the legislators, Elkins agreed "to be placed under the tutelage of Prof. Harlan," and "with all my strength endeavor to meet every condition in spirit and in deed. . . . If my young life is ever to be turned into an avenue of usefulness ought it not to be now, while I am young and strong and hopeful of the future? Why not now before incentive to action is lacking and spirit of ambition departs leaving behind a weary, hopeless wreck?"[103]

In late March, a long article appeared in the *Des Moines Daily Leader,* reporting "new objections" to releasing Elkins. Actually, the arguments had been made before — that Elkins was a born criminal whose degeneracy could not be "educated or cultivated out of him" — but this time the stories about his mother, circulating for years in Clayton County, were reported to a wider audience to explain the "violent prejudice" against Elkins.[104]

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102. *Davenport Daily Republican*, 3/12/1902; *Des Moines Daily Capital,* 3/14/1902.

103. *Des Moines Daily Capital,* 3/1/1902; *Anamosa Eureka,* 4/10/1902; *Mt. Vernon Hawkeye*, 3/28/1902.

104. *Des Moines Daily Leader*, 3/19/1902.

Elkins's crimes were now more overtly blamed on heredity, and the idea of him as a carrier of criminality was made more explicit: he was "born with the brand of Cain on his brow" and would forever be a menace to society. Clayton County residents were convinced that he would kill again if released, and even greater danger could result if he were allowed to reproduce: "The degeneracy of Wesley Elkins is firmly believed by the people of Clayton County to be a verification of the Mosaic prophecy that the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children, even unto the third and fourth generations."[105]

In late March, when the house and senate Committees on Pardon finally voted on the resolution to parole Elkins, the majority was against him. Only a single vote separated the two sides in both committees, but it seemed that the question would once again be resolved without debate on the floor of the General Assembly. Elkins's supporters argued, however, that the close votes and public attention warranted a discussion by the full legislature, and other committee members agreed.[106]

Newspapers predicted that the Elkins case would inspire some of the most emotional speeches of the entire session. When the senate convened on the morning of April 2, with the matter first on its agenda, the gallery was crowded with spectators filling the seats and standing along the walls. Sentiment in the audience, increasingly obvious as the day wore on, was almost unanimous in favor of Elkins.[107]

Senator William Whipple, chair of the Committee on Pardons, made the first extended speech, offering the minority report in favor of Elkins's release. He read aloud the terms that would apply to Elkins during his parole: requiring him to avoid evil associations, obey the laws, and abstain from intoxicating liquors for ten years. Violation of any of the terms would send him back to prison. If he complied, he would be granted a full pardon at the end of the ten-year period.[108]

105. Ibid.

106. *Des Moines Daily News*, 3/22/1902, 3/28/1902.

107. *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 4/2/1902; *Anamosa Eureka*, 4/10/1902.

108. *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 4/2/1902.

Whipple was new to the senate, but he was an experienced lawyer and a persuasive advocate. He began with the facts of the crimes but focused on details that were not widely known. Relying on testimony from neighbors at the inquest, Whipple described the boy's life with his mother, his trip alone to Clayton County after her death, the mistreatment he had suffered at the hands of his father and stepmother, and, finally, his unsuccessful attempt to run away. Whipple appealed to his colleagues to imagine themselves in the boy's position: isolated from friends and family, capable of only the most crude and immature reasoning, and desperate to escape. Common sense would suggest that a child, under such circumstances and at such a young age, was not capable of adult reasoning. Whipple explained that legal precedent supported that conclusion, so that the life sentence was illegal and unjust.[109]

As other supporters had, Whipple emphasized Elkins's transformation in prison as the most persuasive reason for his release. He closed by reading aloud one of Elkins's letters, declaring it more erudite than any legislator could compose. According to the newspapers, the letter produced a "profound impression" on the audience; many were moved to tears. Whipple's address was later said to be "one of the most masterly speeches of the session," establishing him as a leader in the senate in the years to come.[110]

Senator Hiram Bishop from Clayton County responded with the case against Elkins, referring to him as Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde: the split personality with the good side masking the evil within. Elkins presented himself now as Dr. Jekyll, with his handsome countenance and educated words. But his true character — as the evil Mr. Hyde — was proved by his appalling crimes. As Bishop described the bloody details, he acted out the role — reaching below the table to bring forth a wooden club, stained with dark spots, and raising it dramatically over his head.

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109. *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 1/19/1902; *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 4/2/1902; *Iowa State Register*, 4/3/1902. Senator Trewin made the same legal point, citing specific court cases in support. Trewin's argument was especially persuasive to many legislators. *Des Moines Daily News*, 4/3/1902; *Iowa State Register*, 4/8/1902.

110. *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 4/2/1902; *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 4/6/1902.

In thunderous tones, Bishop declared that the club was the actual weapon Elkins had used to beat his stepmother to death, striking her numerous times about the face and on her legs.[111]

Senator Bishop challenged the idea that a true degenerate could ever change; an individual who had inherited evil tendencies was beyond all hope of redemption. Born to a wicked mother, Wesley Elkins was such a person, and the possibility that he would produce similarly infected offspring was the most serious issue of all. Bishop exhorted his listeners to oppose Elkins's release on any terms.[112]

Bishop's speech was not as well received as he had hoped. Some objected to his display of the weapon, his hyperbolic language, and his reliance on local rumors, charging that he was appealing to prejudice and fear instead of invoking rational judgment. A number were troubled by reports from 1898 that Elkins had been promised release in 1900, assuming two more years of good behavior. Bishop's criticism of Professor James Harlan, sometimes referred to as "one of the most beloved men in all of Iowa," may have also hurt his cause. The *Cedar Rapids Republican* reported Bishop's verbal attack on the professor, sneering at him as a sentimentalist who was "dwelling in an atmosphere of exclusiveness that [makes] him unfit for the practical things of the world."[113]

Throughout the day, senators rose to express their views. Several agreed with Bishop, while others condemned the intolerance and narrow-mindedness that seemed to underlie the opposition. By the end, the arguments supporting Elkins proved to be most convincing. The final tally, taken late that afternoon, was 27–20 in favor of the resolution recommending parole.[114]

The house opened its debate the following morning, and, as in the senate, speakers addressed a crowded gallery. Elkins's supporters were optimistic, reporting that favorable sentiment was even stronger in the house than in the senate.[115] The argu-

111. *Des Moines Daily News,* 4/2/1902; *Anamosa Eureka*, 4/10/1902.

112. *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 4/2/1902.

113. *Iowa State Register*, 4/3/1902; *Cedar Rapids Republican*, 4/6/1902.

114. *Iowa State Register*, 4/2/1902; *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 4/3/1902.

115. *Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette*, 4/4/1902; *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 4/3/1902.

ments, lasting all day, had been heard before, but the speakers were passionate and emotional in their presentations.

Elkins's supporters cited legal precedent on his side, but they relied less on detached analysis than on appeals for empathy and compassion. Dr. Bert Eiker, a 30-year-old physician from Decatur, refuted the idea that criminality could be passed from a mother to a son and then urged his colleagues to imagine and remember how unformed was the mind of an 11-year-old child. He had brought photographs of Elkins at that age, and he called on a young page named Bertie Winslow — also age 11 — to distribute the pictures throughout the gallery. Bertie Winslow was a great favorite in the house, described in a newspaper report as "the picture of childish innocence and honest, open frankness." As Winslow came forward, Eiker called the boy to his audience's attention. "I want you to remember that this boy here . . . is of exactly the same age, is of about the height and build as was Wesley Elkins at the time the crime was committed. I ask you if this boy were this night to commit a crime so foul as the one committed by Elkins, would you — could you, declare that he was capable of discerning between right and wrong and of clearly reasoning the duty and relations he owes to his fellow man?"[116]

Many speakers relied on personal experiences to remind the audience of a child's emotions, "the strength of passion . . . and the unreasoning rage which might easily prompt deeds of violence." In a particularly memorable speech, Colonel Samuel Moore, the oldest representative at the age of 81, recounted an incident from his own childhood, telling how he had been "beaten and abused" by boys who were physically stronger than he. Listeners wiped away tears as Colonel Moore described his oppression and his overwhelming anger, how he had been driven "to desperation" and had come close to violence. Even now he remembered the difficulty of maintaining self-control, and the provocations in Elkins's childhood were so much more severe.[117]

Opposition to Elkins's parole was led by J. C. Flenniken, one of the few Republicans to be elected from Clayton County. Flen-

116. *Des Moines Daily Capital*, April 3, 1902.

117. *Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette*, 4/4/1902.

niken was in his first term, but he worked hard to make friends in the house. Some had already pledged to vote with him, so he was optimistic that the final roll call would go his way. As a jewelry tradesman, Flenniken had little experience as a public speaker. As expected, he emphasized the passionate feelings in his county and demanded that those views be respected. He relied on the *Des Moines Daily Leader* article to make his points, reading aloud the stories about the rumors and fears in Clayton County, continuing even while the audience grew distracted. Finally, the Speaker of the House rapped his gavel to call time. After consulting with other representatives, the Speaker allowed Flenniken to continue, but Elkins's supporters whispered among themselves that the interruption had significantly weakened the power of his speech.[118]

Flenniken, however, had been effective in his lobbying efforts. When the vote was called late that afternoon, the numbers were far closer than predicted. Observers, almost unanimous in their support for Elkins, kept track as names were called, expressing distress as the count against Elkins increased. When the final result was announced, many in the audience wept. The resolution recommending parole for Elkins was defeated by a single vote, with 47 against and 46 in favor.[119]

Within a few minutes, though, there was a motion on the floor for reconsideration, supported by two representatives who had voted against parole.[120] One of them said that he had pledged his vote to Flennikin, but now, having fulfilled that promise, he wished to change his position.[121] Apparently, others were also having second thoughts. The motion to reconsider passed by a

118. *Des Moines Daily Capital,* 4/4/1902; *Clayton County Centennial*, 7/1/1936; "Notable Deaths," *Annals of Iowa* 22 (1941), 592; *Des Moines Daily Capital,* 4/3/1902.

119. *Des Moines Daily News*, 4/4/1902.

120. Ibid. The two representatives who proposed the reconsideration were H. E. Teachout, from Polk County, and John Jenks, from Pottawattamie County; Teachout voted for Elkins's parole the second time, and Jenks was absent when the second vote was called the next morning.

121. Emory H. English, "Thirty-Second Biennial Meeting of Iowa Pioneer Lawmakers," *Annals of Iowa* 32 (1953), 24 (Burton Sweet address, "Iowa Legislature Fifty Years Ago"); *Des Moines Daily Capital,* 4/5/1902 (reporting others who had been pledged to Flenniken on the first vote and then changed their minds).

large margin, and the Speaker announced that a second vote on the main resolution would be called the next day.[122]

Elkins's friends spent the evening conferring with opponents. Some of those men were conspicuously absent from their desks when the vote was called the next morning. Even Flenniken realized that the tide had turned. In the end, the number in favor of Elkins increased by only two, but the total opposed fell sharply. With the final tally at 48–35, the Speaker proclaimed that the resolution had passed, so the house would recommend Elkins for parole. Within minutes, a telegram was dispatched to Anamosa with the news.[123]

A few days later, Senator Whipple requested that a final letter from Elkins be read aloud on the senate floor. As the *Daily Capital* reported the scene,

> A death-like-stillness followed as the letter was placed in Secretary Newman's hands by a page. He commenced the reading of the communication in a clear, firm voice, but before he had proceeded far his voice broke and he was compelled to stop and regain composure before he could proceed. . . .
>
> And not all of the senators sat with dry eyes. There was more than one who gave evidence of being strongly moved as the pledge of the young man to go forth from the prison walls and demonstrate the wisdom of the action of the legislature in his behalf was read.[124]

In most of the state, especially the capital and places where Professor Harlan was well known, the public reaction to the decision on Elkins was overwhelmingly positive, with some newspapers condemning the opposition's exaggerated fears and others proclaiming that Elkins's imprisonment was illegal from the beginning. The citizens of Clayton County, however,

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122. *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 4/5/1902, 4/4/1902.

123. *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 4/5/1902, 4/4/1902; *Iowa State Register*, 4/3/1902. Susan Glaspell published a short story, "In the Face of His Constituents," in *Harper's Magazine* in October 1903, that roughly recreates the debate in the Iowa senate about Elkins's fate. The story, renamed "The Plea," appeared in Glaspell's first story collection, *Lifted Masks* (New York, 1912). See Patricia Bryan, "Foreshadowing 'A Jury of Her Peers': Susan Glaspell's 'The Plea' and the Case of John Wesley Elkins," in *Susan Glaspell: New Directions in Critical Inquiry*, ed. Martha Carpentier (Cambridge, 2006).

124. *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 4/5/1902.

reacted angrily to the harsh criticism of their views and the denigration of their fears. According to reports, residents there suggested that Elkins be reminded that he had been convicted only for the murder of his father: "It is no secret that the Clayton county authorities may arrest Elkins if they get hold of him. . . . The indictment [for the murder of his stepmother] still hangs over him and there is little or no disposition on the part of his old neighbors to forget it or forego it. If they could bring Elkins back, he would be brought . . . to this county in short order and put on trial again."[125]

In mid-April Governor Cummins signed the papers authorizing Elkins's release. Most of the terms were incorporated from the legislative resolution and were typical in paroles — requiring moral conduct, abstention from intoxicating liquors, and monthly reports — but the governor added two other provisions that were unique to Elkins. Unless granted permission otherwise, he was required to live in Linn County, close to Professor Harlan. Perhaps out of concern for his own protection as much as to guard the safety of others, he was prohibited from entering Clayton County or any county adjoining it. If Elkins complied with the conditions for ten years, he was promised a full pardon.[126]

Dressed in new clothes — a dark blue serge suit, a blue batwing tie, and a fawn fedora hat — and with 13 dollars in his pocket, Wesley Elkins finally walked out of the State Penitentiary at Anamosa early on the morning of Saturday, April 19, 1902. He was escorted first to the warden's office, where Professor

125. *Iowa State Register*, 4/5/1902; *Des Moines Daily Capital,* 4/5/1902; *Anamosa Eureka,* 4/10/1902; *Mt. Vernon Hawkeye*, 4/14/1902; *Des Moines Daily Capital,* 4/15/1902 (quoting from the *Elkader Argus*); *Anamosa Eureka*, 4/10/1902 (quoting a communication from McGregor to the *Cedar Rapids Republican*).

126. *Des Moines Daily News,* 4/18/1902; Albert B. Cummins, Pardon of John Wesley Elkins, 4/14/1902, Elkins Archives; *Des Moines Daily Capital*, 4/17/1902. Elkins was one of a record number of life prisoners released from Iowa prisons in the spring of 1902 (as opposed to three lifers released in 1898 and only two in 1900). *Cedar Rapids Weekly Gazette,* 4/14/1902. Out of the 13 inmates it considered in 1902, the General Assembly recommended seven of them, and Governor Cummins agreed to conditional paroles for all seven. *Des Moines Daily News,* 4/11/1902. The *Anamosa Prison Press* (4/12/1902) rejoiced that freedom was granted to so many serving life sentences, but many outside the prison criticized the significant increase as a display of excessive leniency and an abuse of power, with the lengthy legislative debates described as a wasteful use of valuable time and resources. *Des Moines Daily News,* 4/21/1902.

John Wesley Elkins, probably shortly after his parole in 1902, perhaps before he left Anamosa. Photo courtesy Anamosa State Penitentiary Museum.

Harlan was waiting with the warden's private secretary, the warden's brother, and a reporter from the *Des Moines Capital*. Elkins stood while Warden Hunter read aloud the conditions of the parole and requested his agreement to abide by the terms. Elkins tried to speak but the words would not come, so he finally nodded in assent. Warden Hunter grasped his hands and offered hearty congratulations.[127]

With Harlan by his side, Elkins walked down the stone steps at the front of the penitentiary to the waiting horse-drawn buggy. At the street, Elkins turned to gaze up at the building, commenting to Harlan that he had never seen it from the outside before. As the buggy started to move away, an armed guard, elevated high in a guardhouse above the street, watched. Raising his gun to present arms, a traditional military salute to show respect, he shouted out a final farewell to Elkins.[128]

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127. *Des Moines Daily Capital,* 4/19/1902, 4/21/1902.

128. *Des Moines Daily Capital,* 4/21/1902. See also James E. Harlan to John Briar, Private Secretary to the Governor, 4/26/1902 (which confirms some of

THE PUBLIC DRAMA of Wesley Elkins's life came to an end with his release from prison. His monthly reports to the governor describe a quiet existence.[129] He lived with the Harlans for several months, working in their garden and taking odd jobs with neighbors to pay his rent. In the fall, he enrolled in high school classes at the Cornell Academy, including bookkeeping and stenography, and worked part-time in a dry goods factory. He joined the Gladstone Literary Society and participated in debating competitions. His name appeared in reports on the contests in the college newspaper, and his picture was included in the yearbook, but he sought to keep a low profile.[130]

During the summer of 1903, Elkins visited relatives in Minnesota, and, in the fall of 1904, the governor agreed to his request to move there. Elkins expressed his love and respect for Professor Harlan, but he wanted to be financially independent, and he was also anxious to leave the state where his name was so well known, associated in so many minds not only with his tragic past, but also with the suggestion of hidden depravity.[131]

Elkins never lived in Iowa again. He traveled to the state several times each year, visiting Harlan and others who had supported him in the legislature, but he maintained his residence in St. Paul. After high school, he found a full-time position as an accountant in the offices of a railroad, and in 1909 he was proud to announce that he had purchased his own home, at a cost of $3,350.[132]

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these details and identifies the newspaperman present in the warden's office as Mr. Moorhead of the *Des Moines Daily Capital)*, Elkins Archives.

129. These letters, starting April 19, 1902, and ending on April 19, 1912, are in the Elkins Archives.

130. "Irving-Gladstone," *Cornellian,* 12/5/1903 (noting that "Mr. Elkins' hesitation at times detracted to a certain extent from the effectiveness of his argument"); *Royal Purple '05,* 126, 140, Cornell College Archives, Mt. Vernon, Iowa.

131. Wesley Elkins to James Harlan, 9/10/1904, Elkins Archives; *Marble Rock Journal,* 8/20/1903 (reporting that supporters had come to believe that "the only way that the young man . . . can have a chance at all is for him to change his name and go where neither his crime nor himself is known").

132. All of these details are from letters from Wesley Elkins to the governor of Iowa from April 1902 to April 1912. The house Elkins purchased was at 1918 Ashland Avenue in St. Paul.

In March 1912 Harlan received the papers granting Elkins an unconditional pardon. The ten-year period would expire in April, but the governor hoped to avoid publicity by issuing the documents early.[133] Harlan notified Elkins, who requested that the papers be sent under ordinary cover rather than special delivery to avoid attention. He also asked Harlan to try to keep the news out of the Iowa papers and to take special care not to disclose his current address to anyone in Clayton County.[134]

Elkins lived for almost 60 years after he left prison, but he becomes more difficult to trace once his monthly letters to the governor stopped in 1912. Records show that he lived in St. Paul until at least 1920, and then moved far away, to Honolulu, Hawaii.[135] In 1922, at the age of 44, he married a 29-year-old woman named Madeline Kahaleuluohia Lazarus, and the couple eventually relocated to San Bernardino County, California.[136] Elkins went by his first name, John — the same as his father's — and owned a chicken farm, while his wife worked as a stenographer at a nearby military base. Death certificates record the end: Madeline Elkins died from a heart attack in 1959; John Wesley Elkins died two years later, at the age of 83, with his death attributed to heart disease.[137] When a short obituary was published, it noted only that Elkins had lived in the area for 33 years. As he would have wished, nothing was included about his early years: his sad childhood, his conviction for murder, the 12 years he spent in prison, or his decade-long fight for freedom.[138]

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133. Governor B. F. Carroll to James E. Harlan, 3/28/1912, Elkins Archives.

134. Wesley Elkins to James Harlan, 4/4/1912, Elkins Archives.

135. 1920 U.S. Census, Minnesota (vol. 68, sheet 9, line 80), listing John W. Elkins living at 1918 Ashland Avenue in St. Paul; Cornell College Register, 1853–1925, 11/30/1925, Cornell College Archives.

136. See records indexed at Family Search Database, www.familysearch.org.

137. Certificate of Death, Madeline Kahaleuluohia Elkins, County of San Bernardino, 3/12/1959 (recording John W. Elkins as current husband, last occupation as stenographer, and 31-year residence in the county); Certificate of Death, John Wesley Elkins, County of San Bernardino, 3/7/1961 (recording Madeline Elkins as deceased spouse, last occupation as self-employed poultry man, and 33-year residence in the county).

138. *San Bernardino Sun*, 3/10/1961.

Dateline Orange City, Iowa: *De Volksvriend* and the Creation of Dutch American Community in the Midwest, 1874–1951

ROBERT SCHOONE-JONGEN

EACH WEEK FOR 77 YEARS *De Volksvriend* appeared in thousands of Dutch American homes. From its base in Orange City, Iowa, "The People's Friend" created a community of readers reaching from coast to coast and beyond, from border to border and beyond. For most of its existence this weekly newspaper provided eight pages of news in words the immigrants understood, information about their new nation and their old home country. The editors regaled their readers with a mixture of national political events, wars from around the world, serialized novels, church news, and natural disasters. Republican to the bone (at least until the Great Depression came in the 1930s) and Reformed to the core, *De Volksvriend* was reliable and safe.

While the editors viewed the world from the vantage point of northwestern Iowa, the columns of submissions (*correspondentie* in Dutch) from dozens of datelines, which occupied as much as a third of the space in some issues, enabled the paper to reach beyond a purely local audience. From places as far from each other as Bradenton, Florida, and Lynden, Washington, or Whitinsville, Massachusetts, and Bellflower, California, and hundreds of places in between, dozens of self-appointed Dutch correspondents reported to other Dutch immigrants

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what was happening to still other Dutch immigrants in at least 27 states and 5 Canadian provinces. Some locales appeared in each issue, others less frequently. Some never stopped appearing while others disappeared with the death of a faithful correspondent. The newspaper's editors and publisher came to understand the vital importance these chatty missives held for the readership. One editor's son, noting that even he read all of the correspondence regularly, observed that, "at least in my father's judgment, his newspaper could fill the role of holding the Dutch people together as an ethnic identity."[1]

Benedict Anderson's influential book *Imagined Communities* opens with the observation that a nation "is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communities."[2] Ethnic communities in the United States conformed to this observation as they scattered from one end of the country to the other. Ethnic groups distinguished themselves from each other, often espousing the superiority of their particular culture. Where enough members of the group came to reside in a locale, that place became one of "our towns" inhabited by "our people" — a safe haven in the surrounding ocean of difference — and *De Volksvriend*'s correspondence columns catalogued their existence and formed a public communications network among them.[3]

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1. D. Ivan Dykstra, *"B.D.": A Biography of My Father, the Late Reverend B. D. Dykstra* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1982), 125.

2. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York, 2000), 5–7.

3. Other newspapers also catered to Dutch American communities; they were published in Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, and New Jersey, as well as in Pella, Iowa. But *De Volksvriend* had a larger circulation and endured longer than the others. Several "Dutch" settlements in the upper Midwest included Ostfrisians who originated from the area along the Dutch-Hanover border and often affiliated with the same Calvinist denominations to which the Dutch gravitated. *Ostfriesische Nachtrichten* was published in Breda, Iowa. Henry S. Lucas, *Netherlanders in America: Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789–1950* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1989), 529–41; Jacob Van Hinte, *Netherlanders in America: A Study of Emigration and Settlement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries in the United States of America* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1985), 445–62, 914–41; George Schnucker, *The East Frisians in America,* trans. Kenneth De Wall (Bethalto, IL, 1985), 273–79; Matthew Lindaman, "*Heimat* in the Heartland: The Significance of an Ethnic Newspaper," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 23 (2004), 78–98.

DE VOLKSVRIEND began as a publicity piece to promote the real estate interests of its first publisher and editor, Henry Hospers. He was by turns a surveyor, banker, promoter, entrepreneur, civic booster, public official, and lay leader in the church. And he could write. He had been present at the creation of Hendrik Scholte's Dutch colony at Pella, Iowa, in 1847. Then, in 1870, Hospers migrated across the prairie to Iowa's northwestern corner to found another settlement in Sioux County. He recruited colonists from Dutch communities in Iowa, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin. With the blessing of the state's immigration board, he traveled to the Netherlands in search of still more pioneers. He was also a hands-on politician who, in one of Iowa's most notorious county sear wars, led the Dutch expedition that commandeered Sioux County's records and safe from "degenerate" Calliope to "virtuous" Orange City during January 1871.[4]

Hospers learned the newspaper business in Pella, where he edited and published the *Pella Weekblad* from 1861 until he prepared to move to Sioux County in 1870. He began publishing *De Volksvriend* in Orange City on June 18, 1874, announcing to his 120 subscribers that the new weekly would inform "our fellow-Hollanders [about] a magnificent spot of God's earth where there is plenty of opportunity . . . for many a Dutch household, where the Lord out of His grace . . . has shown He is well pleased, where there is abundant opportunity to train the rising generation."[5] The settlement's subsequent growth and endurance confirmed his claims. *De Volksvriend* functioned as much like a real estate infomercial as it was a newspaper, intending "to make the facts known far and wide, to attract the attention of emigrants to *our colony.*" Already looking beyond the immediate area, Hospers hoped that "others shall write articles, and we hope our fellow-colonists will help us spread *De Volksvriend.*"[6] In the

4. Van Hinte, *Netherlanders in America,* 485–89.

5. Quoted in Jacob Van der Zee, *The Hollanders of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1912), 252.

6. Ibid., 253–54. Hospers also showed his free enterprise side by telling potential emigrants in the Netherlands that they need not worry about being short on cash, because "if you have children, they are the best capital you can bring to America." For early examples of Hospers's views on America and his appeals for fellow Netherlanders to come to Iowa, see Johan Stellingwerf, comp., *Iowa Letters: Dutch Immigrants on the American Frontier,* ed. Robert P. Swierenga and trans. Walter P. Lagerwey (Grand Rapids, MI, 2004), 115–218.

early years this cosmopolitan vision remained limited to paragraphs lifted from the most recent issue of the Pella paper.

Henry Hospers used his influence as a Sioux County commissioner to secure the right to publish Dutch translations of official notices. These columns of minutes, land transactions, election results, and auction bills ensured the paper's financial viability and gave a potential audience a reason to purchase subscriptions. When Hospers won a seat in the state legislature in 1886, he added Dutch translations of gubernatorial proclamations as another source of revenue for his newspaper. But county or township road contracts and jury lists would not long hold the interest of readers hundreds of miles away from Orange City.

With his civic duties and business interests growing, in 1881 Henry Hospers hired Kasper Tietema to edit *De Volksvriend*. Over the next four years Tietema gradually shifted the paper's focus to reflect changing settlement patterns in the upper Midwest. With the Dutch already occupying large tracts of the arable land in Iowa's extreme northwestern corner, a secondary wave of settlements formed to the north, west, and southwest, in places such as New Holland, Hull, and Thule in Dakota Territory; Holland and Prinsburg in Minnesota; and Prairie View and Luctor in Kansas. Along with other Orange City investors, Hospers dabbled in several of these new locales, lending starting capital, investing some of his own funds in undeveloped land, and even publishing Dutch and English newspapers in Dakota.[7] Editor Tietema added clippings from Hospers's Dakota papers to the Pella news regularly printed in *De Volksvriend*. "Dakota News" combined ordinary rural fare (weather and crop reports) with booster-ish social news ("J. A. Brink's move here from Sioux County went well").[8] Then in 1884 Tietema

7. Hospers purchased the north half of section 1 in Osborne Township, Pipestone County, Minnesota, on December 4, 1890, and 80 acres in Burke Township on July 10, 1891. Contracts 2228, 2229, and 2434, Close Brothers & Co. land contract files, Pipestone County Historical Society, Pipestone, Minnesota. Another Orange City investor, William Rieckhoff, purchased tracts in Leota Township, Nobles County, Minnesota. Contracts 2164–65 and 2201–4, ibid. Those tracts were located in the southwestern corner of the state, the site of the second-largest Dutch American colony in Minnesota.

8. *De Volksvriend*, 7/3/1884, 7/3/1890. In 1884 Henry Hospers began to publish *De Hollandsche Dakotiaan*. His son Jan served as its editor. The newspaper

published a notice that he would welcome submissions from self-appointed correspondents who wanted to keep their fellow Dutch Americans informed about events in the new settlements.

Tietema personally modeled this more expansive view by traveling to one of the Minnesota colonies during the summer of 1885 and subsequently reporting his findings in a series of articles. In addition, Pieter Haan, a Dutch American real estate salesman who until recently had lived in Orange City, began submitting accounts of his activities in central Minnesota. By turns as letters to the editor, advertisements, or news items, Haan's stories described the arrival of prospective and actual settlers in the Prinsburg colony.[9] Haan's dispatches were the prototype for a collection of thousands of articles that became the heart and soul of *De Volksvriend* until its demise at the end of 1951.

FROM 1884 UNTIL 1891, the articles from the Dutch frontiers appeared in a rather haphazard fashion. Frequency and placement in the paper varied. There were no distinctions between opinion pieces, religious jeremiads, protest letters, and more conventional news accounts. The varying frequency of the correspondence reflected the vagaries of life on the Great Plains during the period. Mail service, particularly during the winter months, could be erratic. Some of the new settlements, such as Prinsburg, were located miles from the nearest railroad line. Just getting to them was often a challenge. And life in a crude, new place was not conducive to composing polished prose.

In 1885, when Kasper Tietema heard the call to take up the cloth and departed for a Presbyterian seminary, Hospers turned to Antonie J. Betten Jr. to be the next editor of *De Volksvriend*.[10]

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endured for only about two years. In addition, the *Harrison Globe* briefly included a Dutch language section that was also edited by Jan Hospers until 1887, when he began publishing *De Harrison Bode*, which ceased publication in the early 1890s. Lucas, *Netherlanders*, 536–37.

9. *De Volksvriend*, 1/8/1885, 3/26/1885, 7/9/1885.

10. Tietema was ordained as a Presbyterian minister in 1891. He accepted a call to a Dutch Presbyterian congregation in Fillmore County, Minnesota. While serving that church, he also served as *De Volksvriend*'s correspondent for the hamlet of Greenleafton, Minnesota.

The son of a notable local minister, Betten was Sioux County's treasurer and Orange City's mayor and a close friend and political ally of Hospers. At the age of 46 Betten settled into the editor's chair at *De Volksvriend*. Under his direction the paper expanded to eight pages, with religious news filling much of the additional space. The paper highlighted events and issues of particular interest to members of the Reformed Church in America. Lengthy accounts of church meetings appeared with increasing regularity. In addition, the paper devoted many columns to writers who believed that missionary activities around the world proved that the end of the world was near at hand.[11]

Although the editorial bent shifted, the newspaper's physical appearance did not change during Betten's six-year tenure. As was common with small weekly newspapers of the period, advertisements swarmed over every page, some in the style of business cards, others as want ads and box ads. They framed local news, legal notices, news from the Netherlands and the United States, church matters, and lengthy essays on doctrinal issues, many of them written either by Betten's own father or by like-minded ministers or laymen who lived at a distance. Local news from northwestern Iowa remained a basic ingredient, reflecting who the readers generally were.

In 1891 Henry P. Oggel purchased *De Volksvriend* from Henry Hospers, after Antonie J. Betten quit as editor to manage the general store he owned in Orange City. Oggel and Hospers had known each other in Pella, where Oggel had been a physician with informal credentials. During the 1880s Oggel moved to Orange City to ply his skills. In 1887 he joined the faculty of the local classical academy to teach modern languages and physiology.[12] He ultimately found his true calling in the newspaper office located several blocks up Central Avenue from the academy.

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11. Betten's father (Antonie Sr.) was one of the most frequent of those contributors. Earl Wm. Kennedy, "Prairie Premillennialism: Dutch Calvinist Chiliasm in Iowa, 1847–1900, or the Long Shadow of Hendrik Pieter Scholte," *Reformed Review* 46 (1992), 153–67. See also idem, "A. J. Betten: The Other Pioneer Pella Dominie," in *The Sesquicentennial of Dutch Immigration: 150 Years of Ethnic Heritage,* ed. Robert P. Swierenga and Larry Wagenaar (Holland, MI, 1998), 97–112.

12. Gerald F. DeJong, *From Strength to Strength: A History of Northwestern, 1882–1982* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1982), 40. Henry Hospers was a major force behind

Henry Oggel looked for readers in the rapidly expanding network of Dutch American enclaves that stretched from Wisconsin and Minnesota westward to Montana, Colorado, Washington, and California. Many residents of those enclaves had family ties to northwestern Iowa, having moved west from there beginning in the 1880s. As Kasper Tietema had before him, the new editor printed articles from his readers. Those contributors received free subscriptions and acted as local sales agents.[13] Their efforts produced a dramatic increase in subscribers, and presumably revenue. Oggel inherited a subscription list of approximately 1,000 names. Within four years he doubled that number. By 1909 the list had doubled again, to 4,000.[14]

THE WEEKLY ROUND of correspondence articles gradually grew into the core of each issue of *De Volksvriend*. Amid the columns of church news, theological commentaries, patent medicine advertisements, and legal notices, "Correspondence," according to at least some readers, became the paper's most read segment.[15] The fluctuation in the numbers of these articles at regular intervals illustrates the growth and decline of the newspaper's readership, interests, and ethnic identity.[16]

During the first four months of 1891, 28 articles from nine locations appeared. Only Pella, Iowa, appeared in every issue.

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the establishment of the Northwestern Classical Academy: he donated the land upon which the school stood and served on its board of trustees.

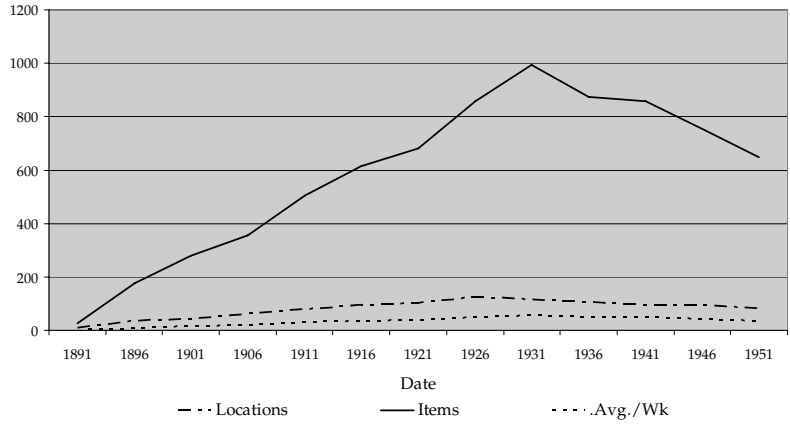
13. The correspondents clearly knew who the subscribers were in their area and often concluded their dispatches with phrases such as, "one new subscriber," or "two new subscribers," or "one new subscriber, a friend of the farmers." *De Volksvriend*, 4/2/1896, 12/8/1899, 12/28/1899, 3/8/1901, 3/21/1901; Dykstra, *"B.D.,"* 125.

14. Lucas, *Netherlanders,* 536.

15. Dykstra, *"B.D.,"* 125. There is anecdotal evidence of this among those who remember reading the paper on a regular basis. The author was acquainted with many of them who resided in Edgerton, Minnesota, several decades after the paper's demise.

16. In each instance the sample involves tabulating the sources of the articles during the first four months of the years 1891–1951 taken at five-year intervals. The sample begins with H. P. Oggel's first year as editor and ends with the newspaper's final year of publication. The sample does not include every correspondent or locale, but it does suggest the newspaper's reach and history.

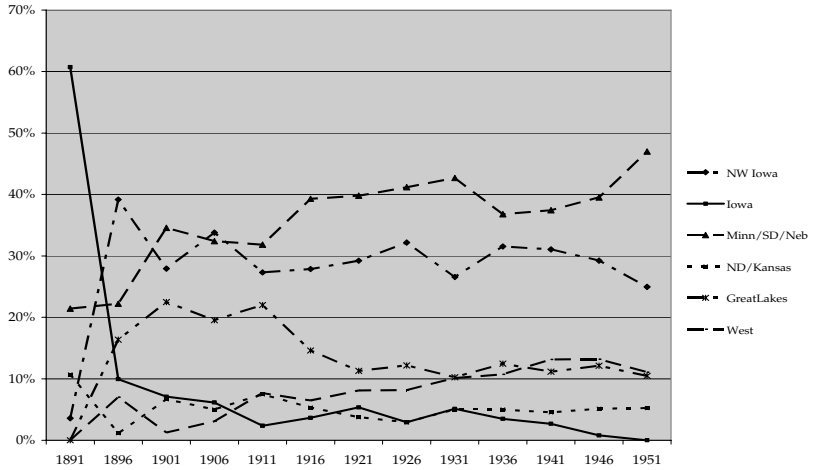
FIGURE 1
Number of Correspondence Articles
in *De Volksvriend* (1891-1951)



The only other multiple appearances were Harrison, South Dakota (where Hospers owned the local newspaper), and Hull, Emmons County, North Dakota. From that modest start the volume steadily increased. By four years later the numbers had increased to 176 articles from 36 locations. Pella remained the most consistent source, and Harrison, South Dakota, made almost weekly appearances. But the shape of the future also appeared in the form of two tiny Wisconsin Dutch American colonies, Alto in Fond du Lac County and Baldwin in St. Croix County. Both were among the least of Wisconsin's whistle stop towns, but they loomed large in *De Volksvriend*'s Dutch American firmament and would remain so for much of the newspaper's remaining history. During the opening months of 1896 Alto's correspondent submitted 12 articles; Baldwin's sent in 14.

The growth of the newspaper's "Correspondence" articles continued for the ensuing 35 years, reaching a peak in 1931 (fig. 1). During the four-month periods of the sample, 956 articles appeared from 118 different addresses. Several sources came and went with the rise and decline of some settlements, the deaths of correspondents, or simple loss of interest in continuing contact with distant, and increasingly unfamiliar, audiences throughout the United States. The geographical spread of the cor-

FIGURE 2
Regional Distribution of Correspondence Articles
in *De Volksvriend* (1891-1951)



respondents reflected the ongoing dispersion of Dutch American colonies. Although the newspaper was published in northwestern Iowa and increasingly relied on local advertisers for financial support, that region had quickly fallen into second place as a source for the articles. A band of settlements that stretched from Bejou, Minnesota, in the north to Lancaster County, Nebraska, in the south provided almost 43 percent of the articles. Baldwin, Wisconsin, still appeared most weeks, but Alto's address had been replaced by neighboring Brandon when that village became the site of the local post office (fig. 2).

After 1900, the "Correspondence" spread beyond the inside pages of the paper. Some moved to the back page, especially in issues with a particularly large number of lengthy contributions. But even more tellingly, the bottom corners of the front page became home to correspondence headlined either "From Other States" or "From Wisconsin" or another particular state.[17] By the 1920s these columns sometimes read "From California." As Dutch American settlements along the West Coast, from Lynden, Washington, to the outskirts of Los Angeles, matured,

17. *De Volksvriend*, 1/5/1893, 7/2/1896, 1/5/1911.

news items from them came to account for 10 percent of the submitted news in the paper. By 1941 the trend peaked at 13 percent. During that year's sample period, news from Bellflower, California, appeared in all but one issue.

THE REMARKABLE LOYALTY the correspondents displayed spoke of a profound sense of connectedness and community created via *De Volksvriend*. The correspondents formed a who's who of literary aspirants and local promoters, self-appointed ambassadors for their adopted homes whose preference for tinted lenses tended toward shades of rose and pink. In 1901 the Greenleafton, Minnesota, correspondent was none other than Kasper Tietema, *De Volksvriend*'s former editor, now a minister in the Presbyterian church. Reinder E. Werkman promoted his real estate interests in the Pacific Northwest via news items from Seattle. Later he reported from settlements in Montana and Minnesota. H. Oordt wrote that Oregon was a great place for dairy farmers, where the butter was "as good as in Friesland." He also noted that hunters were killing four to five bears or deer per day. "Young Dutchmen, come on out here. And if you lack capital make a living [here] as a shoemaker, etc."[18] Werkman may have been a mercenary looking for prospective clients, but most of the correspondents seem to have been ordinary folks who used the pages of the *De Volksvriend* as a surrogate backyard fence, a place to swap stories, gossip, recipes, and opinions.

For almost 30 years Klaas Gerben Feyma from Sandstone, Minnesota, was one of those faithful contributors. His columns can help illumine his experience as an immigrant and the attraction the "Correspondence" features held for the newspaper's readers.[19] Feyma primarily served as a correspondent, first for

18. *De Volksvriend*, 1/17/1892, 7/4/1895, 1/3/1895.

19. For more detailed accounts of Feyma's life and writings, see Robert P. Schoone-Jongen, "Klaas G. Feyma: Friesland, Minnesota's Carpenter/Correspondent," in *The Dutch Adapting in North America: Papers Presented at the Thirteenth Biennial Conference for the Association for the Advancement of Dutch-American Studies*, ed. Richard H. Harms (Grand Rapids, MI, 2001), 44–49; and idem, "A Time to Gather, a Time to Scatter: Dutch American Settlement in Minnesota (1885–1910)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 2007), 118–20, 217–19.

Friesland, Minnesota, and then for nearby Sandstone. He also contributed stories and apocalyptic commentaries on current events.[20] His story emerges from an occasional sentence or paragraph in his articles.[21] These scattered bits and pieces provide at least a sketch of who the contributors were and how they joined *De Volksvriend*'s editors to create an "imagined community" that stretched far beyond Orange City to embrace Dutch enclaves throughout North America.[22]

Klaas Feyma earned his living as a carpenter and cabinetmaker. He was born in Holwerd, Friesland, the Netherlands, in 1849, attended elementary school, learned his trade, joined the Dutch Reformed church, married, and attempted to earn a living in very difficult economic conditions.[23] At age 35 he emigrated to the United States with his wife and three children. They settled first in Clymer, New York, where "one summer [I] worked with the farmers during harvest; it was impossible to handle the bundles of oats and barley behind the reaper without bloodying ones hands from grabbing Canada thistles."[24] In 1886 he moved to Dresbach, Minnesota, on the Mississippi River,

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20. Feyma's stories included "The Talking Clock," *De Volksvriend,* 11/10/1927; "Besides Joe Whitebread," ibid., 7/27/1922; "Emmanuel Wicheren and His Reform School," ibid., 5/1/1919; "Honor Your Mother and Father," ibid., 11/1/1917.

21. *De Volksvriend,* 4/5/1928; *Pine County Courier,* 3/22/1928.

22. Susan Olzak and Elizabeth West, "Ethnic Conflict and the Rise and Fall of Ethnic Newspapers," *American Sociological Review* 56 (1991), 458–74; Samuel L. Baily, "The Role of Two Newspapers in the Assimilation of Italians in Buenos Aires and Sao Paulo, 1893–1913," *International Migration Review* 12 (1978), 321–40; Peter Conolly-Smith, *Translating America: An Immigrant Press Visualizes American Popular Culture, 1895–1918* (Washington, DC, 2004). These three studies describe how ethnic newspapers served as forums in which their readers gradually answered their questions regarding who they were, how they fit into their new surroundings, and how they should deal with the tensions inherent in the immigrant experience. Baily's article is especially useful as a reminder that this process was not an exclusively American phenomenon. On the interplay of print media, religion, and social organizations in forming an ethnic identity, see Dag A. Blanck, "Constructing an Ethnic Identity: The Case of the Swedish-Americans," in *Immigration and Ethnicity: American Society — "Melting Pot" or "Salad Bowl"?* ed. Michael D'Innocenzo and Josef P. Sirefman (Westport, CT, 1992), 25–34.

23. Annemieke Galema, *Frisians to America, 1880–1914: With the Baggage of the Fatherland* (Groningen, 1996), 43–66.

24. *De Volksvriend,* 1/21/1915.

where a group of his in-laws lived near the Dutch enclave of New Amsterdam, Wisconsin.[25]

In January 1896 Feyma responded to advertisements in *De Volksvriend* promoting Friesland, Minnesota, a new Dutch settlement located midway between the Twin Cities and Duluth. With a down payment borrowed from the promoter, Feyma hoped to finance his farm by building houses and barns for other settlers in the colony. In five years he lost his farm, built a house for his family in nearby Sandstone, and became a full-time cabinetmaker and furniture repairman. By then he was also a single parent raising the children his wife had borne before succumbing to complications from the delivery of their seventh child.[26]

Though life in Friesland, Minnesota, proved harsh and tragic for him, Feyma quickly developed an attachment to the place that bespoke sentimentality and nostalgia. His non-Dutch neighbors may well have considered him a bit dense, given his inability to prosper in America. Not only was his purse generally empty, but his English syntax was equally meager even after more than a decade in the country. In a letter pleading for mercy from the railroad company that held the mortgage to his farm, Feyma wrote, "Mijn two boys are worken on the new road West of Miller and the let the half of the pay next stand on the land."[27]

Whatever his English skills, Feyma could hold his own in Dutch. From his first dispatch in 1900 to the final one written only days before his death in 1928, he took up his pen to defend his home area from detractors, compare Pine County to locations in the United States and the Netherlands with which his readers were familiar, forge personal links among his fellow immigrants, mark the passing of his generation, and repeatedly express his incurable optimism. Like modern-day bloggers, correspondents such as Feyma combined observation with the

25. In his later years, Feyma often traveled from Sandstone to Dresbach to visit these relatives. As an example of how Klaas's story unfolded in his articles, his first printed reference to the death of his son John, a soldier in the American Expeditionary Force and victim of the flu epidemic of 1918, appeared in an article about one of these train trips. *De Volksvriend*, 9/11/1919.

26. *De Volksvriend*, 5/1/1902, 1/21/1915.

27. Klaas G. Feyma to Hopewell Clarke, 12/12/1898, Northern Pacific Railroad Collection, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota; Contract 4743, ibid.

parry and thrust of debate through the musings they submitted to *De Volksvriend* each week.

The July 19, 1900, edition of *De Volksvriend* included an article from the correspondent in Hagerty, Iowa. Several of his acquaintances had visited Friesland, Minnesota, in search of cheap farmland. "At first rumor had it that they were so impressed" that one of the visitors had purchased an entire section of land, and another 200 acres. Upon close inspection, however, "it all fell apart. It appears, as we hear it, that there are more woods and stones there [in Friesland] than anything else; and the folks who *are* there admit that there's only one Iowa." One week later, Feyma responded to these accusations. His first signed article extolled Friesland's abundant firewood, absence of searing winds, abundant potato crops, income potential, and verdant hayfields. Deliberately mimicking the accuser's conclusion, Feyma had opened his defense with, "For myself there is but one Minnesota." He ended with, "I say for myself there is only one Friesland."[28]

For almost three decades Feyma scoured the pages of the paper looking for claims to counter. Any disparaging remark about Pine County earned his rebuke. He often sparred with the correspondent from Maple Lake, Minnesota. Located 100 miles to the southwest, that enclave and its Reformed church qualified as a near neighbor in the Dutch American context. Relatives from Maple Lake routinely traveled to Sandstone to visit. Courtships were common among the young people of the two communities. Families would relocate from one community to the other. The two colonies were rivals. When the Maple Lake correspondent wrote that Sandstone "took people from other colonies," Feyma responded that people had been freely moving about the earth since the days of Abraham. Intelligent people settled in the best places. If someone prayed, "Lord! What would you have me do?" and Sandstone then seemed a preferable place, who was the Maple Lake correspondent to question that settler's choice?[29]

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28. *De Volksvriend*, 7/19/1900 (emphasis added), 7/26/1900.

29. *De Volksvriend*, 10/16/1919. This particular exchange began during September and went back and forth for about two months. A few years earlier, in another exchange with this correspondent, Feyma was less magnanimous

One of the underlying factors in these exchanges was the fear that isolation meant a loss of ethnic identity. In the wake of the Sandstone-Maple Lake exchange, the correspondent from Ocheyedan, Iowa, wrote about a neighbor who had moved to Sandstone for a few years, only to return to Iowa "in a freight car that was emptier than when he had left." He had observed that the "young ladies are marrying Swedes or other nationalities" and that Sandstone's Dutch congregation had not grown in 11 years. "I would rather have stayed in the Netherlands than to have wasted my days there." The correspondent's final assessment was: "In isolation there are no choices, there is no Dutch colony, and none will ever develop."[30]

To this Feyma responded, "You used to live here. . . . Is this your thanks for that . . . ? We expected better from you." He addressed the ethnicity question as an American: "Daughters do marry Swedish and German boys. There are cases of that [here]. But do the Swedes have a different Lord Jesus than we, and are they not as good as a Hollander in Heaven? I know many who are true Christians. The Hollanders are not the only good people." The church "thrives." And Feyma turned the Ocheyedan correspondent's comments about his own area against him. "As I read your reports, you complain stones and bones about your situation . . . ; about the poor mail service, the poor roads, the poor business climate . . . shortages . . . [of building materials and labor] . . . and a poor potato crop."[31]

Most of Feyma's exchanges and comparisons were more positive than these examples. He bantered with the correspondent from Port Arthur, Texas, Sam Bandsma.[32] An immigrant

about the rival settlement. After extolling Sandstone's strengths, he concluded, "I cannot name all the blessings that we have that Maple Lake will never enjoy." *De Volksvriend*, 5/28/1914.

30. Ibid., 10/23/1919.

31. Ibid., 11/6/1919. Feyma concluded, "I wish you God's richest blessings and fellowship."

32. Sam Bandsma was born in Holwerd, the Netherlands, in 1882 and emigrated to the United States in 1904. He lived in Wisconsin for about ten years before relocating to Jefferson County, Texas, drawn there by the same real estate dealer, Theodore F. Koch, who had lured Feyma to Pine County in 1896. He died in nearby Harris County, Texas, in 1965. *De Volksvriend*, 7/10/1919; http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?gl=allgs&rank=0&gsfn=sam&gsln=

from the Netherlands, and about five years younger than Feyma, Bandsma was, by turns, a dairy farmer and scavenger for the city of Port Arthur. The two of them compared notes on the weather, crops, and the relative merits of the climates of Texas and Minnesota. When Bandsma reported on ripe strawberries and new potatoes in March, Feyma replied, "We would be happy to hear news about Texas again from S. Bandsma." Feyma expressed concern for the lack of Dutch churches in Port Arthur. Bandsma responded that his soul was well taken care of by local pastors.[33]

During the 1920s these exchanges extended farther west. Feyma exchanged comments with Henry Vervoorn of Ventura, California, an immigrant from the Netherlands who had arrived in the United States in about 1904. He had lived in northwestern Iowa before heading out to California. Once established in Ventura, Vervoorn began sending news to *De Volksvriend*. Feyma became captivated by Vervoorn's descriptions of Elysian winters, perpetual fruit, and balmy summers on the outskirts of Los Angeles. When Feyma appeared somewhat skeptical of these claims, Vervoorn sent a crate of flowers and fruits that arrived in Sandstone during the dead of winter. The sight convinced Feyma that maybe there really was something to Vervoorn's claims. He even urged other skeptics to stop by his home to see that trees really could bloom in winter.[34]

These connections helped maintain a sense of community among the immigrants, even in the face of the differing cultural directions that life in the United States drove them. Not only did *De Volksvriend* create an imagined community, it could also help create real ones. In September 1923 Klaas's son Jacob headed west to settle in Ventura, next door to Vervoorn. Soon Klaas's youngest son also moved to Ventura. Just before Christmas 1925, Klaas boarded a train to spend the winter in California with his sons. He wrote to *De Volksvriend*, "We had Christmas dinner outside the house, under the tall oak tree. . . . It astonished me to be sitting there in the shade of the great oak . . . in

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bandsma&gs1co=1%2cAll+Countries&gs1pl=1&sbo=0&ufr=0&wp=4%3b_80000002%3b_80000003&srchb=r&prox=1&ti=0&ti.si=0&gss=angs-d.

33. *De Volksvriend*, 12/19/1918, 2/13/1919, 5/8/1919, 4/24/1919, 7/10/1919, 4/1/1920.

34. *De Volksvriend*, 1/5/1922.

the middle of winter. . . . How great is the Lord!" When Feyma returned home to Sandstone in late May, he concluded his reports to *De Volksvriend* with an echo of the phrase that had ended his first defense of Sandstone, "Well friends, there is no better land in the world than California."[35]

Beyond encouraging moves and travel, the "Correspondence" articles fostered emotional ties that also promoted communal concern when disasters struck one of the Dutch American communities. When a tornado destroyed an uninsured barn on the farm of "our fellow countryman" Adolph Kalk, Feyma reminded his readers, "Many little contributions make a large one. . . . These folks are very poor and very much need your help." Those who had been spared such calamities needed to express their thanks by helping victims, since "the Lord loves a cheerful giver. . . . Let us, as Hollanders, make Adolph Kalk joyful once again." Feyma's readers responded generously.[36]

Funerals also occasioned Feyma's expressions of community, which were laced with pious sentiments and admonitions to the living. When the "angel of death came and claimed" 46-year-old Gosse Straatsma, a deacon in the Sandstone Reformed Church, Feyma concluded his report with the familiar refrain, "May the Lord speak through this shocking event not just in the tears but as a reminder to us that now is the acceptable time, today is the day of salvation." Beyond the sermonizing, such stories were also intended for audiences in locations where the deceased had once resided. When Dick Vork died in Sandstone, Feyma's account mentioned Vork's connections to three different settlements, including his birthplace (Holland, Michigan) and the places where two of his children were living (Maple Lake, Minnesota, and Big Timber, Montana). At times these articles simply recounted his personal situation, most notably the lengthy article on the ceremonies that surrounded the burial of his son John Feyma, who died in the war in France on November 28, 1918.

35. *De Volksvriend*, 9/20/1923, 2/26/1925, 1/14/1925, 5/27/1926. Jacob Feyma's brother-in-law, Harold Vork, joined him in the move from Sandstone to Ventura.

36. Ibid., 7/5/1923, 8/23/1923. Similarly, when a Dutch American family in Hotchkiss, Colorado, lost their house in a fire, 11 individuals from Iowa, South Dakota, and Washington State sent money to help the family rebuild their home. Ibid., 4/1/1920.

He compared the return of his son's body to the instruction Joseph had given to the Israelites "that his bones should be returned to Canaan, the land of his birth." He wrote about deaths of old friends in the Netherlands, and he commented on the passing of old friends living elsewhere in the United States. Geert Nieken had been one of the early settlers in Friesland, Minnesota. In 1912 he had moved to Orange City, the home of his second wife. There was a memorial service in Sandstone when Nieken's body was brought there for burial. Feyma used his news article to say farewell to this one-time merchant seaman who had sung Dutch psalms to his shipmates, but had now "reached the safe harbor of rest."[37]

This concluding comment encapsulated the final motive behind Feyma's articles: to help his fellow Dutch Americans see the good that surrounded them. He was an inveterate optimist. Given the harrowing experience of immigration, the very lean years living in upstate New York, his meager circumstance in Dresbach, his failed farm in Minnesota, the death of his wife at a young age, his struggles to raise his children as a single parent, the death of his son in France, the stagnation of the Dutch American colony in which he resided — despite all of this Feyma was a happy person. And he tried to cultivate a spirit of mutuality in his readers. To him, America was a good place, even better than the Netherlands. He offered recipes for chicken feed and hearty soup in response to questions other correspondents posed. He encouraged people to organize letter showers to celebrate birthdays and anniversaries. He saw the silver lining in the dark clouds of white slavery, world war, and demon rum. He believed that with knowledge people would do the right thing. So, Feyma tried to provide that knowledge, in the newspaper and elsewhere.

When Feyma reported on his visits to the county fair, not every *Volksvriend* correspondent shared his enthusiasm. The

37. Ibid., 1/31/1907, 1/27/1921, 4/29/1915, 8/25/1921, 2/7/1924. Feyma seemed fascinated by macabre deaths. He wrote a lengthy account of Maynard Larson's death. This 15-year-old from Sandstone was overcome by fumes while he was using a bucket to empty the oil lying in the bottom of a tank car. The car, with Maynard inside, was attached to a southbound freight train. The body was finally retrieved a week later in the Omaha freight yards. Ibid., 10/13/1921.

Archer, Iowa, reporter contended that a fair was no place for a decent Christian to be. Feyma responded that American fairs should not be confused with their Dutch counterparts. There the beggars and minstrels, plus public drunkenness, made fairs "much too bad to frequent." But in the United States fairs provided a day for wholesome relaxation, a forum in which Christian tracts and lectures could uplift the community. Rather than standing on the outside condemning fairs, Christians should frequent these spaces to redeem the fairs from evil. Christians could see the goodness of God in the exhibits of produce and animals and in the handwork women placed on display. They also provide opportunities for women's groups to raise funds.[38]

When the weather turned foul, Feyma saw the good in distress. A snowstorm in late February 1922 left Sandstone marooned for two days without train service and mail delivery. The roads were blocked by 12-foot drifts. Feyma had not seen anything this bad in all of his years in Minnesota. There were reports of families without food. And yet . . . God had sent the storm to provide work for the unemployed "so that young and old, men and women, anyone capable of wielding a shovel could help with the cleanup and work for more than a week. And there is still more work remaining. Also right here in the railroad yards. Thus this snowstorm was a great blessing."[39]

World War I inspired visions of the apocalypse in Feyma's mind long before two of his sons were called to arms and one of them died from influenza in a French field hospital. Before the United States entered the war, when *De Volksvriend*'s correspondent from Winnipeg, Manitoba, reported on a growing labor shortage in Canada, Feyma remarked that of course there were fewer workers because no one would move to "that much ballyhooed place" lest they be drafted to serve in the "death trap" of Europe. "Pity the parents of Canada!" The previous year Feyma had reported on the return of Dutch Americans from Pine County who had gone to Canada as homesteaders, only to abandon their claims rather than face military service. Feyma wondered if strange new birds roosting in the nearby groves

38. Ibid., 9/23/1920, 10/14/1920.

39. Ibid., 3/9/1922.

were also refugees from the war in Europe. "People cannot always pay for passage to this land; but the birds have a free ticket" in the rigging of ships.[40] How they then came to Minnesota, he did not speculate.

When the United States joined the war effort in April 1917, Feyma first noticed the change when soldiers appeared in Sandstone to guard the railroad bridge over the Kettle River a mile north of town. Soon afterward the local home guard unit (90 men strong), armed with searchlights for the night watch, took over minding this vital installation on behalf of the nation's defense. When three local boys left to be inducted into the navy, only to have two of them rejected, Feyma mused, "I thought they were all fit to be sailors, but apparently they are selective." He also thought the launching of motor boats on a nearby lake preferable to launching submarines. He referred to local draftees as having received "an unlucky number." Sandstone organized school girls into a knitting circle that made sweaters for soldiers. In this Feyma saw something both "commendable . . . and educational." Yet his last comment was the unwarlike statement, "And let us beg the Lord for peace."[41]

The aftermath of the war — the toll of dead soldiers, the six million deaths from influenza — convinced Feyma that he was living in a 120-year period that presaged the Second Coming. He compared this to the 120 years God had given Noah's contemporaries to repent before the Flood. Feyma published an elaborate comparison between Noah's Ark and the *Titanic*, likening the ill-fated ship to an idol. "The Ark was God's rescue ship. The Titanic was humanity's funeral boat."[42] But underlying these gloomy thoughts was his belief that divine intervention would make the world a better place in the end.

Meanwhile, virtuous Christians needed to fight the good fight against vice, particularly white slavery, liquor, and tobacco. The latter was an unusual stance among Dutch Americans, given the prevalence of cigar use among men. But Feyma related the story of Jan and Max, a Hollander and a German.

40. Ibid., 10/28/1915, 9/10/1914, 12/24/1914, 2/4/1915.

41. Ibid., 4/12/1917, 5/10/1917, 8/9/1917, 12/20/1917.

42. Ibid., 3/25/1920.

As they sat on a couch enjoying cigarettes together, they set the couch on fire. They took it outside to extinguish the flames, but the wind only intensified the blaze. "Know about cigarettes ahead of time; they are dangerous in every way, for fire and health."[43] White slavery provoked Feyma's wrath as well. The women forced into prostitution were "like our sisters." The cure for this social ill was active concern. "Our Dutch people should be more aware of this so that some good may come of it."[44]

For many years prohibition remained Feyma's chief social improvement passion. As so many temperance advocates did, he often employed moralistic tales of lives ruined by drink. He believed that war in Europe made prohibition even more necessary, because "drink kills more men than bullets, and sends them to damnation, and makes wives and children ashamed." He told of liquor being transported into Sandstone by automobile and of drunks lying on the streets of town. He exulted in the success of an undercover agent who located a blind pig (a speakeasy) in town.[45]

When Sandstone was poised to pass a local option ordinance, Feyma's optimism rang out: "Many of our housewives are praying for God's blessing to rest on this endeavor." When the local voters opted to close the saloons, he sang, "Now on Saturday morning the mothers will be able to use the pay the workers received at the quarry for afternoon shopping, instead of the fathers taking the check and wasting it at night with the men who turn paper into gold." In his New Year's greeting for 1914, Feyma wished that all "would strive for the coming of God's kingdom, hope that what the angels sang in Bethlehem

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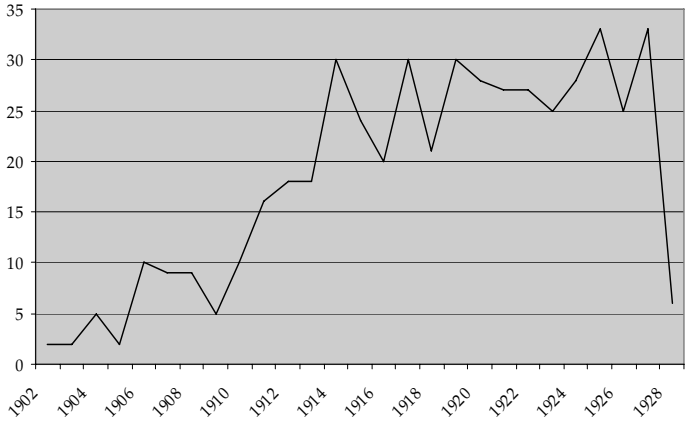
43. Ibid., 2/23/1922. On cigar use among Dutch Americans, see Robert P. Swierenga, *Dutch Chicago: A History of the Hollanders in the Windy City* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2003), 23, 310, 491, 508, 584, 700. Samuel Gompers, the founder of the American Federation of Labor, was a cigar maker by trade and Dutch by ethnic background. Van Hinte, *Netherlanders*, 615.

44. *De Volksvriend*, 6/5/1913, 2/16/1914. Feyma's comments fit well into the rhetoric of the social reform movement that opposed white slavery. David J. Pivar, *Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868–1900* (Westport, CT, 1973); Brian Donovan, *White Slave Crusades: Race, Gender, and Anti-Vice Activism, 1887–1917* (Urbana and Chicago, 2006). I am indebted to my colleague Dr. Kristin Kobes Du Mez for this insight.

45. *De Volksvriend*, 11/7/1918, 6/23/1914, 9/21/1916.

FIGURE 3
Frequency of Articles Written by Klaas Feyma in *De Volksvriend*



will not be forgotten, and that all, both young and old, would work to close the saloons." To punctuate his belief, a few months later he related that "an acquaintance of mine was a well-respected man five years ago and had a good business. Now he is poor, losing everything down his throat." Feyma enthused about a water bottling plant as a stimulus for the local economy, while loathing the use of alcohol as a pain reliever for dying soldiers. He compared the remedy to "giving a horse a whipping to make it better." When prohibition became the law of the land in January 1920, he joined the celebration at the Sandstone Temperance Hall for "the funeral of John Barleycorn."[46]

Correspondents such as Klaas Gerben Feyma were the heart and soul of the correspondence features in *De Volksvriend.* In 28 years the heading "Sandstone, Minnesota" appeared 493 times before the "faithful correspondent" finally succumbed. His contributions grew with his age as increasing leisure afforded him the time to write more and more (fig. 3). Curiously, the more he wrote the more he and his Dutch American neighbors saw themselves as Minnesotans and Americans. Over the years even his sense of Calvinist superiority faded as he became acquainted with Swedish Baptists, German Lutherans, and Scots Presbyterians in his adopted town. His cultural borders expanded to en-

46. Ibid., 3/11/1909, 4/1/1909, 1/1/1914, 4/2/1914, 4/29/1915, 1/29/1920.

compass the likes of evangelists such as Billy Sunday and Aimee Semple McPherson. We know all this because he reported his observations in a weekly newspaper that was aimed at Dutch-speaking Americans like himself.[47]

ABOUT THE TIME that Feyma was chatting with writers in California and Texas, *De Volksvriend* reached its peak circulation of about 6,000. By 1931 the number of correspondence articles peaked at an average of 55 per week; 115 correspondents from 17 states and one Canadian province wrote in during the first four months of that year. A new editor, Rev. B. D. Dykstra, who would control the paper's content during much of its remaining two decades, had no doubt that his work served as "the cement that would continue to hold the Dutch people of the middle west together and heighten their ethnic consciousness."[48]

Not every observer completely understood such enthusiasm, or such arcane messages. The bemused Dutch writer Jacob Van Hinte summarized the correspondence columns this way: "Even the smallest happenings are reported; thus it was learned by the Hollanders in the farthest West as well as in the farthest East of the United States that in Leota, Minnesota, 'little Harriet Hofkamp celebrated her ninth birthday with her little friends. The mother had provided for delicious refreshments, and the children had a pleasant afternoon.'" But Van Hinte did understand that a Leota birthday party notice helped to place Dutch Americans in a larger context. In words that foreshadowed the influential works of theorists such as Benedict Anderson and Jürgen Habermas, Van Hinte observed, "By keeping abreast of other Hollanders' activities, they [Dutch Americans] constitute, so to speak, one gigantic family from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, from Mexico to far beyond the borders of Canada . . . [and these papers] especially *De Volksvriend* reached out over an enormous territory — several times the size of Europe!"[49]

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47. Ibid., 1/21/1926.

48. Dykstra, *"B.D.,"* 121–22.

49. Van Hinte, *Netherlanders,* 924. (This edition of Van Hinte's book includes an illustration of *De Volksvriend*, complete with a healthy dose of "Correspondence" located on page one. Not content to rely on such correspondence, however, Van Hinte traveled across the United States visiting Dutch colonies in prepara-

Over time, the number of correspondence articles began to decline, as did the number of locations from which they came. Most telling, however, was the drastic drop in articles from northwestern Iowa (fig. 2). In its first decades, *De Volksvriend* attracted advertisers from Iowa and beyond. Booksellers, land dealers, and patent medicine companies — from J. B. Hulst and Eerdmans-Sevensma in Grand Rapids to Theodore F. Koch in St. Paul and R. E. Werkman in Seattle and to a patent medicine called Dr. Piet's Zokoro manufactured in Chicago — all provided the revenue that kept the newspaper viable for many years. But the onset of the Great Depression and the declining purchasing power of an aging readership led advertisers to spend their money elsewhere. Sioux County's commissioners no longer saw the need to print notices in Dutch. By 1941 virtually all the paper's advertising came from businesses in and around the immediate Orange City area. And by then the advertisements were invariably in English even though the editorial content was still in Dutch.

The stark divergence between a growing dependence on local advertisers and a declining local interest in the newspapers' content doomed *De Volksvriend*. During the final declining years, a dwindling cadre of correspondents continued to faithfully report on their communities. But readers in Bellflower, California, or Lynden, Washington, would never buy an Oldsmobile from Cambier Motors in Orange City. That realization drove the publisher to inform editor B. D. Dykstra during the fall of 1951 that the paper would cease publication at the end of the year.

HENRY HOSPERS, Henry Oggel, and B. D. Dykstra may have been the people who assembled *De Volksvriend* for more than 75 years, but in a real sense *De Volksvriend* was people like Klaas Feyma. They read it and they wrote it. They thought with good reason that thousands of like-minded and like-speaking people really cared about things like Minnesota birthday parties or suc-

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tion for writing his monumental survey of the Dutch ethnic settlements in the United States.) Cf. Anderson, *Communities*; Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA, 1989).

cessful Christian school pie auctions in South Dakota. Together they would speculate on whether bachelors bidding up a luscious lemon meringue were motivated by the desire to support a worthy cause or to impress the eligible schoolteacher that they were financially able to support a wife. Such things formed the foundation of the imagined community *De Volksvriend* created among often isolated Dutch American enclaves.

People who often had lived side by side, either in the Netherlands or in the United States, could remain "neighbors" in each weekly edition of this newspaper. Or they became neighbors for the first time through its pages. *De Volksvriend* kept them informed of the activities of their compatriots across the continent and back "home" in Europe. The editors who solicited these submissions and devoted up to one-third of their column inches to printing them also commented on them. From Klaas Feyma, and more than a hundred other writers, the editors gained a sense of what was important to Dutch Americans. The editors provided a space, a sphere, in which Feyma and his colleagues conversed with each other and together learned what America was about and how they could ease themselves into its cultural patterns. This was part of the process by which Hollanders evolved from immigrants to hyphenated Americans to Americans with the hyphen either erased or fading.

For an hour or so each week the readers of Orange City's Dutch-language newspaper were able to transcend the physical limitations that kept Dutch Americans apart from one another and mimic in print the gatherings they had once known and the conversations they had once enjoyed when they lived in other places in another time. In the now microfilmed pages of *De Volksvriend* we see a hint of the world Klaas Feyma and his fellow correspondents knew and loved in America.

Gender and the Civil War: A Review Essay

LESLIE A. SCHWALM

Gender and the Sectional Conflict, by Nina Silber. The Steven and Janice Brose Lectures in the Civil War Era. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. xxi, 117 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $24.95 cloth.

Army at Home: Women and the Civil War on the Northern Home Front, by Judith Giesberg. Civil War America Series. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. xi, 232 pp. Illustrations, graphs, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00 cloth.

Considered in tandem, these new additions to the study of the Civil War brightly illuminate the impact of ideas about gender on what Northerners and Southerners believed they fought for, as well as on their experience and memory of the war. Both authors demonstrate why the deep influence of gender ideology on American cultures and societies must be a central consideration in studying how soldiers or civilians understood the conflict, how wartime societies responded to women's patriotism, how the war affected the home front, and how the nation remembered and memorialized the conflict. Gender ideologies — the elaborate sets of ideas about how men and women should act, their appropriate arenas of activity, and their relationship to the state — so thoroughly shaped the nineteenth-century world of thought and action that we disregard them at peril of missing a core element of how men and women understood themselves and each other as well as their experience of the war.

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In engaging these topics, Silber's *Gender and the Sectional Conflict* is a significant, useful, and insightful synthesis of more than two decades of scholarship, but it is just as valuable for pushing at the boundaries of our knowledge about how gender ideology shaped American politics and culture. Consisting of a substantial preface and three essays based on a series of invited lectures at Penn State's Richards Civil War Center, Silber's book is a particular scholarly art form; don't expect extensive new archival research, but rather look for thoughtful, probing mediations that offer unusual and engaging transparency to the historian's process of building on and leaping off the work of others.

Both the Confederacy and the Union widely deployed visual and rhetorical imagery of mothers and wives demanding and consenting to men's military service; the same imagery was commonly found in soldiers' letters home. Much of Silber's book explains and explores why there were such deep sectional differences in how soldiers understood this gendered imagery. Confederate soldiers were literally as well as figuratively fighting to defend their homes (and their mastery over those households and household dependents); Union soldiers were far more likely to understand their fight as one they entered on behalf of "the state" *despite* their familial obligations. Silber shows how the Northern political economy contributed to the familiarity of this distinction for Northern men. Northern men were increasingly propelled into a public market economy where they labored for wages, while their wives' contributions to their families — still essential to their economic survival — became increasingly privatized and distanced from the public sphere, and therefore the state. Furthermore, Silber shows why Union men could envision a relationship to the nation-state — because it materialized more frequently in the lives of Northerners (she usefully cites greater rates of public school attendance in the North as one example and state- and locally funded relief during the war as another). In contrast, the "nationalist imagination" of Southern men was far more limited — in part because of their fewer opportunities to interact with a public state, but also because the household took a central place in the Southern political imagery.

Silber's second essay moves from the symbolic uses and meanings of womanhood during the war to considering the

consequences when women in both regions entered into wartime activism — both as patriots and as dissenters. Union women, Silber points out, enjoyed a physical distance from the battlefield and from the kinds of material sacrifices that more closely linked Confederate women with their nation's cause. In turn, this regional distinction meant that Confederates and Unionists alike romanticized Confederate women as more devoted to their cause and more united in their patriotic devotion (and fury). Northern women were, in fact, active in many instances of antiwar, antidraft, antigovernment activities, but Silber also finds them notably more vulnerable to charges of deficient patriotism because of the proscribed and ideological distance of the private domestic sphere from the public realm of the nation-state. When Union women crossed that divide and assumed themselves to be individual actors in relation to the state (rather than simply echoing the political beliefs of fathers and husbands), they entered an unchartered territory of female citizenship.

Carrying her central concern with how ideologies of gender helped constitute the way the war was experienced and remembered, Silber's third essay contrasts the work of memorialization among Northern and Southern women after the war. If this essay is less adventurous than those that precede it, it continues in the same spirit: focusing primarily on the North, but skillfully using regional and national comparisons to draw out divergent gendered meanings and repercussions of the war North and South.

In contrast to Silber's smart and largely synthetic work, Judith Giesberg's *Army at Hom*e draws on extensive archival research to produce an exciting, pathbreaking social history of the North's war at home. Giesberg reveals the experiences and challenges encountered by Northern working-class women — a population whose wartime experience has been largely overlooked, since most of the histories of gender and the war have focused on the middling classes. Particularly when read alongside Silber's book, Giesberg's study allows us to see more of the material impact of war; we move from Silber's probing of the uses of ideas about gender during times of war to urban and rural women's efforts to cope with the poverty, displacement, and dangerous new workplaces created by war. One of the remarkable features of Giesberg's study is its range: individual

chapters move from Philadelphia to San Francisco, from war widows to African American women challenging Jim Crow streetcars, from the victims of horrible accidents in the arsenals where they worked to struggling farm women and mothers coping with homelessness. As persuasive as Silber's treatise is about how gender shapes culture, Giesberg's work leaves no room for doubt that the war dramatically altered the daily lives of working-class women, urban and rural, as well as the form and location of women's political engagement. As they took over farm management and operations, made demands on the state for relief, challenged the men supervising their dangerous labor at arsenals, and sought to retrieve the bodies of their loved ones from battlefields, working-class women made new demands on the state, challenged presumptions of female passivity, and claimed new public voices — becoming politically engaged in new spaces and new ways. *Army at Home* thus brings flesh and blood to the more culturally engaged work of *Gender and the Sectional Conflict*.

There is much that is new in Giesberg's account, including her exploration of African American women's challenge to the segregation of urban space. Giesberg reveals the nuanced political terrain of black women's battles against streetcar segregation in wartime Philadelphia and San Francisco. More than any of the scholars who have previously (and most only briefly) studied the wartime upswelling of this civil rights struggle, Giesberg demonstrates its connection to wider activism among African American women. Their wartime work on behalf of black soldiers in black hospitals, schools, and contraband camps required daily travel across city landscapes, typically without the protective accompaniment of a male companion. Alone and accosted by hostile streetcar drivers and white passengers, African American women courageously chose to place their own bodies on the line when they challenged the proscriptions that were designed to regulate black women's use of streetcars. When they then took their demand for equal rights into the courtroom, they extended the impact and consequences of their demands for a new conception of citizenship; filing suit on their own behalf, African American women construed and demanded a direct and unmediated relationship with the state.

Both of these works, while smart, nuanced, and strikingly original, share with most studies of the war a failure to grapple with gender as a raced ideology for white Americans. Although Giesberg significantly and Silber only peripherally grapple with African American women's wartime experience, neither historian addresses the war's substantial impact on the prerogatives or anxieties that Northern women and men experienced as *whites*. Yet this same war that so dramatically altered the status of African Americans, men and women, also changed forever what it meant to be white in a nation that no longer offered political, legal, and military protections for black slavery — and white mastery. That is one of the boundaries in our knowledge of the war that gender historians must ultimately grapple with: the mutually informed rhetorics of race and gender that meant womanhood was never idealized without a racial component, and black men and women were rarely insulted without a gendered element to that assault. Wartime political rhetoric, as well as the political economies of the plantation South and the rigidly segregated North, were shaped by gendered rhetorics that were deeply influenced by race. Social and cultural historians alike still have their work cut out for them, but these books by Silber and Giesberg will prove indispensible to their endeavor.

Book Reviews and Notices

Frontier Forts of Iowa: Indians, Traders, and Soldiers, 1632–1862, edited by William E. Whittaker. A Bur Oak Book. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2009. 286 pp. Illustrations, maps, drawings, bibliography, index. $29.95 paper.

Reviewer Virginia Jelatis is associate professor of history at Western Illinois University. Her research and writing have focused on Indian-white encounters in the Mississippi valley in the early nineteenth century.

In *Frontier Forts of Iowa*, 13 authors combine to uncover the history of early Iowa. Their unit of analysis is the fort, "the main tool used by Europeans to take control of the upper Midwest" (2). Editor William Whittaker organized the book chronologically. The early chapters stress that forts, as trading posts, were key factors that enabled French, Spanish, British, and then Americans to move into the homelands of native groups such as the Ioway, Sauk, Meskwaki, Dakota, and Ho-Chunk. The next several chapters tell the story of individual forts, using each one as a window into a specific moment in time. As time passed, forts became a symbol of American control, where fort personnel protected local inhabitants and enforced treaty agreements. The final chapter provides an overview of original and reconstructed forts for twenty-first–century visitors and tourists. Whittaker is careful to define the terms, time frame, and geographical area covered within the book. The goal is to blend 13 authors, 16 chapters, archaeology, and history into one seamless narrative.

As a history, *Frontier Forts* offers only an overview of the complex connections among trade, expansion, politics, and American Indian policy. There is enough history to keep the story moving but not enough to convince readers that forts were a reflection of the economic and social policies of the day. The real strength of the book is its ability to make archaeology come alive and show how it is essential to understanding the past. From the race to examine Old Fort Madison before it was paved over to the excavation of latrines at Fort Atkinson, Iowa, this book highlights the important work being done every day to preserve artifacts and historic sites. Readers will learn about fort design, placement, and construction. Artifacts such as metal buttons, harmonicas, vials, wire, and broken window glass help recreate the daily

lives of soldiers and others who passed through the area. The color illustrations, black-and-white photos, detailed maps, and visitor information make this a great resource for people who want to stand on the sites where history was made. Although short on analysis, this book will be a helpful reference for anyone writing about western expansion, the trade and economy of the Midwest, the local history of Iowa, or the shifting balance of power between native and non-native groups. Many scholars acknowledge that early Iowa was a dynamic place where native groups hunted, the Sauk and Dakota often clashed, Europeans and Anglo-Americans vied for control, and settlers grew in numbers. By following the trail of forts over time, this book helps us link that history to the physical world that surrounds us.

The Indians of Iowa, by Lance M. Foster. A Bur Oak Book. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2009. xiv, 145 pp. Maps, illustrations, places to visit, tribal contacts, bibliography, index. $16.95 paper.

Reviewer Greg Olson is Curator of Exhibits and Special Projects at the Missouri State Archives in Jefferson City. He is the author of *The Ioway in Missouri* (2008).

The story of American Indian people in the present-day state of Iowa is one that is both rich and complex. For centuries, the region's diverse landscape and system of waterways have attracted a surprising variety of distinct native cultures. Over time these groups have ascended, declined, evolved, or disappeared, leaving in their wake a saga that spans many cultures and centuries. Making sense of this vast story requires expertise in a broad range of academic disciplines. For this reason, Lance Foster — artist, anthropologist, historian, and enrolled member of the Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska — is a natural choice to bring the pieces together in his new book, *The Indians of Iowa*.

By Foster's count, no fewer than 25 Indian tribes have a historical connection to Iowa. Rather than placing these various groups together in a single narrative, Foster discusses each of the tribes in separate sections. Those with the strongest connections to Iowa, such as the Meskwaki, Sauk, and Ioway, each receive individual chapters. Tribes with only brief residencies inside the state, such as the Osage, Kickapoo, and Ojibwa, are lumped together in a single chapter called "Visiting Nations." Each chapter is divided into three sections: an introduction, a description of each group's traditional culture, and a listing of well-known members of each tribe.

Foster intersperses these chapters with sections that touch on a variety of topics related to American Indian people in Iowa. One of the most useful of these is a chapter on the state's archaeology. In this

section, Foster provides a helpful overview of the various archaeological periods, listing the chronological time frame and fundamental characteristics of each. In another brief chapter, Foster explores one of the most famous conflicts involving native people in Iowa history, the Spirit Lake Massacre, from a native perspective. Lest readers conclude that American Indians existed in Iowa exclusively in the past, Foster includes lively chapters about native spirituality, powwow etiquette, genealogy, and other issues related to Indians in Iowa today. He also includes a list of more than 50 museums and historic sites throughout Iowa where readers can go to learn more about the state's indigenous people.

Finally, Foster has illustrated *The Indians of Iowa* with several of his own striking pen-and-ink drawings. Most of these drawings depict Indian people in traditional dress engaging in ancient activities, but many include small icons of modernity, such as snowplows, airplanes, and tractors, which serve to connect the people, their time-honored cultures, and the world of the twenty-first century.

Indeed, it is this ability to move the story effortlessly between the past and the present that may be the book's strongest asset. Rather than depict Indian people as long-gone artifacts of Iowa's past, Foster presents readers with contemporary people who are working to hold on to their traditions while striving to move their cultures forward. In the process the author helps to break down some of the prevalent myths that non-native people often have about Indians and their traditions.

Some historians and scholars will no doubt argue that *The Indians of Iowa* is too brief and that it paints an incomplete picture of the topic it sets out to explore. Foster's chapters on individual tribes are short, rarely longer than three or four pages, and the list of recommended readings seems a bit subjective. Scholars might also take issue with some of the information Foster has included in the book. For example, the author notes that the name *Ioway* comes from a Sioux phrase meaning "sleepy ones" (6). Linguist Jimm GoodTracks has translated the word to mean "those broken off," a phrase that refers to the Ioway's separation from their relatives the Otoe and Missouria.

Nonetheless, Foster has clearly written *The Indians of Iowa* for general readers in the hope that it will lead them to seek out more information about this rich topic. "Reading this book is simply one step in your own journey of connecting with the land and the Indians of Iowa," the author tells us in his conclusion (108). In *The Indians of Iowa*, Lance Foster has succeeded in writing a book that will leave readers well prepared to undertake that journey of discovery.

The Liberty Party, 1840–1848: Antislavery Third-Party Politics in the United States, by Reinhard O. Johnson. Antislavery, Abolition, and the Atlantic World Series. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009. x, 500 pp. Tables, appendixes, notes, index. $75.00 cloth.

Reviewer Dana E. Weiner is assistant professor of history at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ontario. Her research and writing have focused on the antislavery movement in the Old Northwest.

Reinhard O. Johnson argues that the Liberty Party influenced both politics and antislavery reform in its short life from 1840 to 1848. In this, the first "national study of the Liberty Party" (1), Johnson also comprehensively documents the organization at the local and state levels, where he claims the party "had its greatest impact" (2) and where most control lay. The first four chapters are a chronological narrative of the birth of political abolition, the origins and difficult growth of the Liberty Party, debates over its platform and coalition politics, and its "absorption" (2) into the Free Soil Party.

The middle three chapters encompass the Liberty Party in the individual states, including many previously overlooked facets of the movement's development. All are Northern states with the intriguing exception of Virginia. Although they make for dry reading, Johnson's detailed state case studies of the Liberty Party will be vital for future research on political abolition and local politics. The author effectively claims that the party's "motives and party philosophy" differed from place to place, and that it is best described as "a loose federation of state parties with certain core beliefs common to all" (3). He gives a strong sense of regional differences between New England, the Middle States, and the Old Northwest and of divisions within the regions and within states. Scholars of Iowa history will note Johnson's finding of the Liberty Party's limited and late efforts in the state; only in 1847 did the party found a state organization (in contrast to strong showings earlier in Illinois and Wisconsin).

Johnson's tone and argument are much livelier in the final four chapters and the afterword, which place the Liberty Party in the context of the abolition movement. There he uncovers who joined the party and why, what they did, how they did it, and what made them unique. Johnson problematically refers to the party's "use of" African American speakers as a political strategy (237, 250, 251), as opposed to those speakers' own choices to contribute to the Liberty Party's cause. Apart from that, his account of the Liberty Party is an inclusive one that ably engages recent historiography on marginalized groups in politics and questions the Garrisonians' monopoly on welcoming women to antislavery. He details the party's deliberate efforts to in-

corporate women and African Americans, especially through their involvement with auxiliary Liberty Associations. Those auxiliaries did not survive the transition to the Free Soil Party, so this history of relative inclusiveness ended rather abruptly.

The four appendixes — which present election returns, "banner Liberty counties," the 1844 national party platform, and absorbing biographical notes for all Liberty members mentioned — further reveal the depth and breadth of Johnson's research, although the biographical notes would be much more useful if they had citations, especially since some of his claims about individuals' Liberty allegiances are controversial.

Johnson's major contribution is his persuasive argument for the Liberty Party's influence on the long-term trajectory of antislavery politics. He refutes arguments of its insignificance, especially in relation to Garrisonian abolitionism, a faction whose actual impact he minimizes. At least for the Old Northwest, this claim requires further research, for he only cites older literature for his assertion that the Garrisonians merely had strength in Ohio. Johnson makes a compelling case that Liberty Party members helped to bring slavery to center stage in the 1840s, and that the decade represents the pivotal turning point for antislavery. He readily acknowledges that the racial justice agenda of the Liberty Party and the diversity of its participants diminished over time, but claims that this was part of its activists' adaptation to their changing political world.

With this book, Johnson achieves his goal of merging the often separated studies of antebellum political history and antislavery reform. In the process he makes a substantial contribution to both fields.

John Brown's Trial, by Brian McGinty. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009. 350 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $27.95 cloth.

Creating the John Brown Legend: Emerson, Thoreau, Douglass, Child, and Higginson in Defense of the Raid on Harpers Ferry, by Janet Kemper Beck. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2009. vii, 206 pp. Illustrations, timeline, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00 paper.

Reviewer Galin Berrier is adjunct instructor in history at Des Moines Area Community College. He is the author of "The Underground Railroad in Iowa," in *Outside In: African American History in Iowa, 1838–2000* (2001).

John Brown's Trial, by Brian McGinty, is the first book in 150 years to deal exclusively with Brown's trial for treason against the state of Vir-

ginia. McGinty, a trial lawyer, notes Americans' fascination with courtroom contests and regards this one to be the first to be treated as a media event commanding national attention. Although this book "is a *legal history,* it is not a *legal treatise*" (19), and general readers as well as scholars can read it with profit and pleasure.

After an introductory chapter sketching John Brown's career before Harpers Ferry and a second on the raid itself, McGinty deals in succeeding chapters with framing the charges against Brown, the indictment, jury selection, taking testimony, the issue of fairness, securing adequate counsel for Brown, the verdict, the sentence, Brown's execution, and, in a final chapter, the trial's impact.

One of McGinty's central arguments is that it was not the disastrous raid on Harpers Ferry itself but rather Brown's trial, and the forum it offered him to speak in his own behalf, that ensured Brown's place in history. "If he had been shot dead during his raid or if he had bled to death from the sword wounds inflicted on him when marines stormed his last refuge in the U.S. armory and arsenal, he would have died without a trial, been condemned as a madman, and been relegated to a footnote in history" (10).

On the possibility that John Brown might have saved his life by pleading insanity, McGinty notes that Brown himself explicitly rejected such a defense. Although one of his lawyers traveled to Ohio to collect affidavits of insanity from 19 persons who knew Brown, "they implicated families related to Brown by marriage more than his own. . . . Much of the information stated in them was hearsay . . . and it was clear that all of the affidavits were motivated by the desire to save Brown's life" (243). If Brown had been presented to the nation as a "lunatic," it seems unlikely that he could then have been transformed into a martyr.

Perhaps the most original part of McGinty's book is his discussion of the charge of treason leveled against John Brown on top of the more obvious charges of murder, conspiracy, and inciting a slave rebellion. Brown was clearly a citizen of the United States, and his offenses occurred on federal property: Should he not have been tried in federal rather than state court? Brown was neither a citizen nor a resident of Virginia, so how could he be tried for treason against a state to which he owed no allegiance? But Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise wanted Brown tried in Virginia, and the pro-Southern "doughface" President James Buchanan bowed to his wishes. Perhaps Virginia prosecutor Andrew Hunter "conceived of the charge of treason for the purpose of tying the hands of Governor Wise . . . who was given to unpredictable changes of course" and "would have the power to pardon or reprieve

Brown . . . from any crime . . . except treason" (111). McGinty calls this "one of the most troubling legal questions raised by the trial, for it lay at the heart of the federal system" (14).

Janet Kemper Beck, who teaches English, has little to say about John Brown's trial in *Creating the John Brown Legend*, and nothing new to say about John Brown himself. Her interest is instead in how a small group of men and women, literary figures in Concord and Boston, transformed Brown's reputation from "terrorist" and "lunatic" into one of "a martyr for a holy cause whose execution made 'the gallows glorious like the cross'" (4).

Beck acknowledges that she "did not set out to write about John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry" (3), and she summarizes what historians and biographers have said about it and Brown himself in two brief chapters in part one of her book. Part two, "The Players," consists of five chapters on the four men and one woman who really interest her: Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Frederick Douglass, Lydia Maria Child, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Emerson and Thoreau, initially the most hesitant to support Brown, receive the briefest discussions. Beck notes, as does Sandra Harbert Petrolionis in more detail in *To Set This World Right: The Antislavery Movement in Thoreau's Concord* (2006), that both were drawn somewhat reluctantly into antislavery activism by the women in their families: Both Emerson's wife, Lidian, and Thoreau's mother, two sisters, and three aunts were founding members of the Concord Female Anti-Slavery Society. Beck somewhat disparages Frederick Douglass for having refused to accompany John Brown to Harpers Ferry and fleeing for a time to Canada afterwards. Unlike Douglass and the others, Child never met Brown, but Beck lauds her for being one of his most steadfast supporters. Higginson alone among the Brown supporters known as the "Secret Six" not only stood his ground but even plotted to rescue Brown from his Virginia jail (126–28).

Part three of Beck's book consists of a long chapter on the literary efforts of her five subjects, whom she describes in her preface as "incredibly effective 'spin doctors,'" (3) to transform John Brown's reputation, followed by a brief epilogue describing their later efforts to burnish Brown's image. It is now the prevailing wisdom that the literary efforts of the New England Transcendentalists were the decisive factor in creating the John Brown legend. Largely missing from Beck's account are Brown's own words, uttered "with an eloquence that excited admiration throughout the country," as McGinty puts it (8). It was Brown's words that gave these literary "spin doctors" both the inspiration and the ammunition with which to craft their image of him.

Understandably, neither McGinty nor Beck has anything to say about John Brown in Iowa, although McGinty does note that Governor Wise said that Iowan Edwin Coppoc of Springdale was the only one of Brown's raiders whose sentence he had ever thought of commuting (248). As it happens, Brown's first meeting with Emerson and Thoreau in Concord in 1857 came just after his return to the East from Kansas by way of Iowa. It might have been possible for Beck to compare their responses to the charismatic Brown with the impressions he made on Josiah B. Grinnell and the somewhat more skeptical Rev. John Todd, who perhaps knew Brown better.

Surely McGinty is correct in arguing that it was John Brown's trial rather than his aborted Harpers Ferry raid that set the stage for his role as a catalyst for secession and Civil War, and Beck shows us that the trial alone would not have ensured his place in history and legend without the literary productions of the New England Transcendentalists. Both have produced readable books that make significant contributions to our understanding of John Brown.

Heartland Utopias, by Robert P. Sutton. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009. 224 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $32.00 cloth.

Reviewer Peter Hoehnle is project manager for the Iowa Valley Resource Conservation and Development Council. He has written two articles about the Amanas for the *Annals of Iowa,* and his dissertation (Iowa State University, 2003) compared the organization of work in four communal societies.

Heartland Utopias was the final book written by the late Robert Sutton, long recognized as the foremost authority on the Icarian communities formed by followers of the nineteenth-century French Utopian socialist Etienne Cabet. The present volume focuses on the communal societies formed in the Midwest (here defined as the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Missouri, and the Dakotas) in the nineteenth century. As one would expect, the chapter focusing on the turbulent 50-year history of the Icarians is well done, but otherwise the book suffers from numerous careless and unfortunate errors.

A broad survey of communal groups will, almost of necessity, be of uneven quality, reflecting the availability of records and other materials. *Heartland Utopias*, however, is constructed from secondary accounts and, like the unfortunately often cited work of Mark Halloway, is heavily dependent on Charles Nordhoff's *The Communistic Societies of the United States* (originally published in 1875). Although Nordhoff's observations are generally sound, they are those of a contemporary observer, not

a historian, and do not provide a complete or in-depth overview of a community's history.

Readers with an interest in Iowa history will find Sutton's treatment of the Amana Society — one of the largest and longest surviving of any utopian settlement in the Midwest — particularly disappointing. Sutton refers to Amana founder Christian Metz as "Merts" in one place (7), and relegates Metz's role as a community leader to that of assisting Barbara Heinemann Landmann. (Elsewhere Sutton claims that no woman ever "gained full leadership or control" over a religious utopian community, which is also contradicted by his mention of Lucy Wright, the undisputed head of the Shaker movement for more than 20 years, and the career of Mary Purnell of Mary's City of David.) Within a single paragraph Sutton provides two different numbers for the number of Metz's followers arriving in the Inspirationists' initial settlement at Ebenezer, New York (61). They purchased 5,000 acres in New York, not 4,000 (61); the Amana Society did not maintain "five flour mills" or allow newspapers to be sold within the colony; and at no time was East Amana the second-largest village, as implied (62). I also seriously doubt that "by the 1920s unmarried men [in Amana] had cars with radios" (63–64). I found at least 22 errors of fact in this section. More disappointing is that this significant community receives only five pages of commentary — a quarter of the space given to Icaria — and is lumped in a chapter titled "Other Separatist Communities."

The chapter on the Icarians, the group about which Sutton did pioneering scholarship, is the strongest one, although here, too, there are errors. The birth date of Icarian founder Etienne Cabet is given as 1782 (88) rather than the correct date of 1789, and Sutton fails to note the land issues that were at the root of the failure of the first Icarian colony in Texas. Somewhat more grating is Sutton's assertion, when discussing the Hutterites, that this group along with the Icarians formed the "longest-lived [utopian] experiments" (112). The Hutterites are, indeed, the longest lived communal movement in the heartland, but several communities, including the Amana Society (89 years), the House of David and Mary's City of David (currently 107 and 80 years, respectively), Reba Place (56 years), and several of the midwestern Shaker settlements, easily surpass Icaria's 50-year existence.

Although Sutton profiles a number of very short-lived Fourierist Phalanxes in Ohio, Wisconsin, and elsewhere, he excludes any mention of pioneering Iowa utopian communities such as the Jasper Colony or the Clydesdale Colony, which are referenced in other standard works.

Sutton's focus is historical, although he does include communities founded as late as the 1970s. His selection seems a bit arbitrarily confined to communities, such as Jesus People USA and Reba Place, that are located in his home state of Illinois. Oddly, his chapter on "Chicago Area Utopias" excludes any mention of Cyrus Teed's Koreshan Unity, certainly one of the most interesting utopian movements to develop in the American heartland.

Heartland Utopias will, one hopes, not be the final attempt to explore the interesting history of utopian communities in Iowa and neighboring states. The errors of fact and interpretation in this work seriously compromise what might have been a useful regional exploration of this rich topic. Many of these errors should have been detected by careful peer review; others probably would have been addressed had the author been able to see the book through publication.

The Welsh in Iowa, by Cherilyn A. Walley. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009; distributed in the U.S. by University of Chicago Press. xi, 238 pp. Maps, graphs, tables, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. $60.00 cloth.

Reviewer Ron Roberts is professor emeritus of sociology at the University of Northern Iowa. His books include *The New Communes; Social Movements; Iowa's Ethnic Roots; Reinventing Inequality; John L. Lewis;* and *Mother Jones and Her Sisters.*

This new book on the migrations and settlement patterns of the Welsh in Iowa has all the strengths and weaknesses of a doctoral dissertation for the general reader of Iowa's ethnic history. Walley notes that Welsh mining towns and Welsh agricultural communities in Iowa in the nineteenth century shared the same cultural values and often the same language, but in both cases the Welsh were always a minority within the community. It is also true that they never presented a political threat (real or contrived) to the social order as did the Irish. Yet the Welsh did make an impact on midwestern states such as Iowa, and Walley meticulously documents their settlement in the state. She marshals an extraordinary amount of local history in her quest to tell the variegated story of the mining and farming communities inhabited by the Welsh.

I must admit to having at least two disparate views of her work. On the one hand, her descriptions of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Welsh mining towns could not find a better audience. My grandfather and his family worked for many years in the Monroe County coal mines near Hiteman. One of the other Welsh towns she describes is Cleveland, Iowa, which happens to be the birthplace of

my father (in 1906) as well as America's most famous labor leader, John Llewellyn Lewis (in 1880). She does a great service by revivifying these lost mining towns that were havens for Welsh miners and their families. Their communities are gone now, identified only by their extant graveyards.

My gratitude and appreciation for this detailed and precise treatise on the Welsh migrants to Iowa is shaded by the recognition that Walley's work was obviously a doctoral dissertation. As such it is a project she can be proud of. For the average reader, however, the demographic material that constitutes the skeleton of the book may be somewhat overwhelming. The dissertation's demographic methodology might have been cushioned by more examples from the actual lives of individual Welsh men and women. For example, members of the Iowa Welsh Society have done oral histories of Welsh settlers in the agricultural community of Old Man's Creek, and I have done oral histories of second-generation Welsh people in Lucas and Monroe counties. Moreover, a fascinating diary kept by Evan G. Morgan gives an account of his mine work in Lucas as well as his dreams at the turn of the century. He also describes his two trips back to Wales in the early twentieth century to do missionary work. Furthermore, a number of newspapers of the 1880s give accounts of Welshmen as leaders in the coal strikes in Lucas and Monroe counties. Interestingly enough, *The National Labor Tribune* in Pittsburgh followed the story of Welsh union men on strike and conflict over African American strikebreakers in Lucas in 1880.

Assiduous readers will appreciate the scope and methodological clarity of Walley's work. One hopes that a second edition of the book will add more of the hymns, curses, diet, celebrations, and quotidian realities of early Welsh life in Iowa.

Norwegian Handknits: Heirloom Designs from Vesterheim Museum, by Sue Flanders and Janine Kosel. Minneapolis: Voyageur Press, 2009. 144 pp. Illustrations (mostly color), diagrams, references, index. $30.00 cloth.

Reviewer Linda McShannock is costume and textile curator at the Minnesota Historical Society. She has written about eighteenth-century Norwegian quilts in America and curated quilt exhibits at the Minnesota Historical Society.

In *Norwegian Handknits*, designers Sue Flanders and Janine Kosel selected knitted items from the Vesterheim's textile collection to recreate in both traditional form and modern interpretation. Vesterheim is a well-known museum in Decorah, Iowa, that preserves Norwegian

American heritage of particular interest to the many descendants of Norwegian immigrants in the Midwest.

A variety of books have been published that relate the history of knitting, but this volume is specific to the traditions and artifacts from Norwegian immigrants. The authors introduce 30 patterns using traditional stitches or colorful embellishments and integrate their knitting patterns with historic narratives, photographs, recipes, and family stories. The entire book is infused with the authors' sense of the fun of discovery as they tell their own stories about their inspiration from the Vesterheim collection.

These knitting patterns preserve tradition and inspire innovation. Knitters and historians alike will enjoy seeing gems from the Vesterheim collection illustrated in this book along with the patterns and contemporary knitwear inspired by them. The selections made by the authors, who also have midwestern roots, are for an audience that will not only appreciate the complexities of Norwegian knitting, but the historical context of the material.

The Flavor of Wisconsin: An Informal History of Food and Eating in the Badger State, by Harva Hachten and Terese Allen. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 2009. xxii, 391 pp. 460 recipes, illustrations, sidebars, notes, bibliography, indexes. $29.95 cloth.

Reviewer Jill M. Nussel is a lecturer at Indiana University–Purdue University Fort Wayne. Her research and writing's focus on using cookbooks to shed light on immigrants and their communities will be reflected in her forthcoming book, *From Stewpot to Melting Pot: Charity Cookbooks in America's Heartland*.

I am echoing what people in the Badger State already know: There's more to Wisconsin than cheese! In 1973 the late Harva Hachten produced an authoritative book on Wisconsin foodways; 25 years later, Wisconsin culinary commentator Terese Allen has updated *The Flavor of Wisconsin,* making this once again a culinary classic of regional foodways. Part history, part cookbook, this compilation celebrates the kitchens and hearths from Wisconsin's earliest days to the present, serving as a community autobiography of the values and culture that have become a part of the heartland narrative.

The book begins in Wisconsin's earliest days with interactions among Native Americans and fur traders, but the most impressive chapters demonstrate the culinary skills of immigrants and pioneers and the foodways of workers in the early industrial age. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, Wisconsin was populated by Cornish miners, Germans, Belgians, Dutch, Swiss, Finns, Irish, and Poles, with

the largest group being Scandinavian. In the twentieth century, Wisconsin became home to large numbers of Mexicans, African Americans, and, after the Vietnam War, an influx of Hmong — all of whom brought culinary expectations.

Exploring Wisconsin foodways reveals the many layers of ethnic migration. Each group brought its own food traditions, and the Wisconsin foodscape still largely reflects this immigrant and pioneer past. For instance, the Cornish were not the only people who made their meat supply go further by baking it into a "pasty." The Finns, Estonians, Hungarians, Norwegians, Germans, Lithuanians, and Czechs all have similar recipes represented in this book. Together, such recipes became part of the Wisconsin culinary traditions of frugality and using all of the earth's bounty.

Ask any fan of the Green Bay Packers and they will tell you it can get cold in Wisconsin, and so preservation of foods during the long winters became paramount to residents before refrigeration. As a result, recipes for preserved meats abound. Magdalena W. Tank of New London shared a recipe for *kartoffelwurst* among the many ways to prepare sausage. As Wisconsin became more of a melting pot, we see the emergence of a truly American "brat" — a staple at any Wisconsin football tailgate party.

A good hunter could make a significant contribution to the family larder. In 1853 citizens of Madison were treated to roasted bear for Thanksgiving. The newspaper suggested slow roasting and marinating the bear for tender results. Pamela Schalk of Milwaukee describes how her Irish great-grandmother prepared venison in the 1890s by frying slices in bacon tallow. People of Wisconsin also enjoyed raccoon, squirrel, pheasant, and rabbit. Although there is no recipe for it in this book, I'm guessing that the occasional badger was also on the dinner table.

In addition to its attention to Wisconsin's immigrant past, *Flavors of Wisconsin* takes readers into the kitchens of men, the working class, wartime rationing, and agribusiness. What was a woman to do if she could not find lingonberries in her town? With careful, contextualized reading, Hatchen examines the many Wisconsin charity cookbooks, observing how compilers not only found substitutions for native foods but also how cooks saw themselves, projected their values, and offered a vision of Americanization. Perhaps the most successful charity cookbook of all time was the *Settlement Cookbook*, first published in 1901, the proceeds of which benefited Milwaukee's Jewish charities for more than 90 years.

Important additions are made by Terese Allen, who sheds light on Wisconsin's more modern cuisine. Through her additions, we see that

Wisconsin is on the national forefront of organic farming, sustainable harvests, and the slow foods movement while redeveloping artisanal cheeses and wheat. Newer immigrants have left their marks as well, demonstrating the ever evolving cornucopia of flavor in the region.

In *Flavors of Wisconsin*, readers explore how the people of Wisconsin plowed their fields, worked their gardens, and built their cities. We see immigrants and migrants, town folk and country folk, the middle class and the working class. *Flavors of Wisconsin* is far more than a cookbook or even a history book — it is a picture of America's heartland. Every state should have a similar contribution to our collective understanding of America through the foods we grow, eat, and share.

Encore! The Renaissance of Wisconsin Opera Houses, by Brian Leahy Doyle, with photographs by Mark Fay. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 2009. xvii, 254 pp. Illustrations (many in color), appendixes, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth.

Reviewer Richard Poole is professor and chair of the Theatre/Speech Communication Department at Briar Cliff University. His work on small-town and rural midwestern theater includes *The Opera Houses of Iowa* (coauthor, 1993) and an article in this journal (1989/1990) on Sioux City theater in the Gilded Age.

Beautifully illustrated and impeccably researched, *Encore!* catalogs in text and images the history of Wisconsin opera houses constructed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In addition, and perhaps most important, the book reveals an aspect of American culture sadly neglected in both theater history and American studies. It also tells the story of modern day restoration, when communities and individuals banded together to raise funds to restore an essential part of their almost forgotten heritage.

Doyle catalogs a wide range of opera house and theaters, "from the small to large, simple to ostentatious" (xiv). Readers will find a wealth of information about each structure: cultural context; civic backing; architectural design; performers and productions; and restoration initiatives and successes. Informative breakouts that enrich and embellish the text accompany the illustrations and the narrative.

Only a handful of books explore the wealth of information available on state theater history. Such information reveals an astounding number of theatrical activities and venues. *Encore!* joins this select group. Comprehensive research on all types and locations of state theaters, from the largest cities to the smallest hamlets, is essential for a complete picture of theater and culture in the United States. The information is here, waiting to be rediscovered.

Perspectives on Milwaukee's Past, edited by Margo Anderson and Victor Greene. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009. x, 344 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, index. $75.00 cloth, $30.00 paper.

Reviewer Mary Wingerd is associate professor of history and director of the public history program at Saint Cloud State University. She is the author of *North Country: The Making of Minnesota* (2010) and *Claiming the City: Politics, Faith, and the Power of Place in St. Paul* (2002).

Every city has fascinating stories to tell. Even so, as this collection of essays makes clear, Milwaukee stands out as both representative and unique: representative in its economic trajectory of industrial growth and subsequent deindustrialization familiar to the midwestern rust-belt; and unique in its political and ethnic distinctiveness.

The contributions to this volume attest to the editors' claim that the history of the largest city in Wisconsin is a fertile and largely overlooked site for scholars interested in politics, society, and culture. Milwaukee is a study in contradictions. Described over time as the "German Athens" for its pronounced German flavor, progressive politics, and *gemütlichkeit*; as the "City of Neighborhoods" and "City of Festivals" for its vibrant ethnic enclaves and traditions; and, by the 1960s, as the "Selma of the North" for its bitter racial conflicts, Milwaukee, throughout its history, has exemplified both multiculturalism and hyper-segregation. But Milwaukee is probably known most widely as the "City of Socialism," where a series of Socialist mayors governed for 38 of the 50 years from 1910 to 1960.

Fascinating essays by John Buenker, Eric Fure-Slocum, and Aims McGuinness debunk the common misperception that Milwaukee socialism was simply a product of its large population of transplanted Germans. Rather, it sprang from a coalition of an organized immigrant working-class and progressive reformers, along with a particular cohort of the city's Germans inspired by transnational socialism. Together they disrupted the two-party system, challenged the prerogatives of capitalism, and fashioned a city that was long known for good governance and humane social policies. By "delivering the goods," Milwaukee-brand socialism tended to diminish class and political clashes. After 1960, however, when Cold War paranoia, changing demographics, and the stirrings of economic decline changed the political calculus, the city fractured into what became, in the words of author Jack Dougherty, the "long civil rights movement" that remains unresolved today.

Milwaukee's socialist politics touched every aspect of its history, as can be seen in the other essays in this collection, which cover a broad range of topics beyond politics. Particularly notable are discus-

sions of black, Latino, and Asian in-migration that emphasize the diversity *within* those groups that tend to be lumped together as monolithic and cohesive communities. Also, an analysis of working-class neighborhoods by Judith Kenny and Thomas Hubka is a model for reading social meanings in the built environment. And Genevieve McBride, in surveying the portrayal of women in Milwaukee's past, raises the provocative question of why a city so steeped in progressivism remained extraordinarily resistant to granting political and economic rights to women.

The editors state that the purpose of this collection is to "identify what is known about a particular aspect of the city's history and identify future areas of interest" (10). To that end, the authors in varying degrees devote significant space in their essays to historiographical review and pointing out topics in need of further study. This is a boon to scholars and especially to doctoral students in search of dissertation topics. However, I suspect that the nonacademic audience will find this approach somewhat frustrating. *Perspectives on Milwaukee's Past* succeeds admirably in stimulating interest in this complex metropolis, but this tantalizing glimpse is likely to leave the general interested reader unsatisfied and wishing for more.

The Federal Art Project and the Creation of Middlebrow Culture, by Victoria Grieve. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009. x, 229 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $45.00 cloth.

Reviewer Gregg R. Narber is assistant professor of history at Luther College. He is the author of *The Impact of the New Deal on Iowa: Changing the Culture of a Rural State* (2008) and coauthor of *New Deal Mural Projects in Iowa* (1983).

Middlebrow culture is usually a pejorative term, one associated, for example, with the Book of the Month Club as it once operated or with Oprah's Book Club as author Jonathan Franzen perceived it (he objected to Oprah including his novel *The Corrections*). Middle-class anxieties about reading the "right books" are supposedly assuaged by someone selecting books for them (the Editors' Choice, Oprah's latest pick). Of course, this was and remains fraught with marketing implications, objectionable to those who believe that books are "art" that should find their audience on the basis of merit, not someone's reassuring say-so.

Grieve argues that the controversies surrounding the Federal Art Project (FAP) of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) are best understood in terms of opposition to middlebrow culture from art constituencies wedded to "highbrow," elite conceptions of art. They

argued that exposing masses of people to and encouraging their consumption of art dumbed down supposed "products of genius" (as geniuses recast their work to appeal to the masses) and exposed artists to government control as had occurred in Hitler's Germany.

Certainly, defending "highbrow" art was part of the opposition to the FAP. Even so, the primacy Grieve gives this opposition is ultimately unpersuasive. The FAP exercised no content control. Commercialization, a mark of the "middlebrow," was a late development for the FAP, and artists could offer up whatever they chose in the "Buy American Art" days promoted by the FAP. The first National Art Week was in late 1940, the last was in November 1941. The Index of American Design, an FAP project that sought to record the best examples of American folk art, was and remains largely inaccessible to most people. Community art centers — by 1941, more than 100 had been founded — were well attended and did mix accessible exhibits with art instruction. However, most of the art centers ended with the war and the related shift from federal to local funding. (Of three such art centers in Iowa, only Sioux City's survived.) The ubiquitous art fairs of our present day and the number of art museums founded since World War II, a high percentage of which include programs of art appreciation and instruction, may, as Grieve would have it, signify FAP success in implanting middlebrow culture, but I suspect that few organizers or sponsors would appreciate the characterization.

As a study of New Deal art programs and the FAP in particular, this study is marked by some errors of fact. The FAP's precursor, the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP) *was* indeed intended as a relief measure, although the program was so rushed into existence that laxity characterized determinations of need. Outcries from local communities about the content of Treasury Section murals — including Fletcher Martin's infamous mine disaster mural for Kellogg, Idaho (it is Martin, not Marin as this text and index refer to him) — are offered as examples of community involvement with FAP mural content. In that the examples relate to another New Deal art program, one structured to encourage community involvement through, for example, local juries in many cases, the examples say little about the FAP.

Grieve's case that the FAP sought to implant middlebrow culture *on a national basis* is undermined by the actual demographics of FAP employment and production. The FAP operated primarily in large urban centers such as New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, where artists needing relief tended to concentrate, and on only a small scale elsewhere. In Iowa the program lacked a director for some time. A few murals were produced in Sioux City and Des Moines, three art centers

opened and a fourth operated, and numerous posters and entries for the Index of American Design were created. Yet few artists were employed in Iowa, and little art was produced in the aggregate.

Grieve's contextualization of the intellectual history preceding this middlebrow/highbrow debate is splendid. In lucid, well-organized chapters, she introduces readers to John Dewey, Constance Rourke, John Cotton Dana, Van Wyck Brooks, George Santayana, and many others, and just enough of their writings and thinking to understand the debate that engaged them. These threads are nicely tied together in the biography of Holger Cahill, who headed the FAP. The excitement of this intellectual debate — what American art was or should be, what a museum was or ought to be, the place of art in a democratic society — is readily apprehended through Grieve's telling. Because these issues are still with us, this exceptional resumé of that intellectual history is of great value.

They Opened the Door . . . And Let My Future In, by Helen Phelan Augustine. Emmetsburg: The author, 2006. vi, 126 pp. Appendix of photographs, documents, and maps.

Reviewer Jeffrey A. Kaufmann is professor of history at Muscatine Community College. His doctoral thesis focused on country schools in Iowa in the 1930s.

Helen Phelan Augustine's book is a delightful journey to a bygone era in Iowa and midwestern history. Augustine is clearly inspired by her own experience in Iowa country schools. She weaves this inspiration throughout her description of the country school experience, focusing on 34 former teachers who shared their reflections on teaching in Iowa country schools in the 1930s and 1940s. The book is a wonderful mixture of memories, anecdotes, and reflections embedded in the context of rural educational history. The book is well organized into topical chapters with appropriate teacher memories supporting summaries and generalizations about Iowa country schools.

The focus of the book is on teachers and their experiences, including a wide array of topics such as pedagogical techniques, contract language, teacher training, boarding in the community, and more subjective areas such as motivation, autonomy, and the impact of World War II on the school experience. An appendix of documents and photographs personalizes both the topics and the 34 teachers interviewed for the book.

This is an excellent mix of nostalgia and oral history, an opportunity fading fast with time. The use of former teachers and their insights grounds the book in authenticity, even as a positive tone pervades

every page. This book will appeal to thousands of former students and teachers as well as add a personal dimension to the analysis of this important phenomenon in Iowa and midwestern educational history.

Kingdom to Commune: Protestant Pacifist Culture Between World War I and the Vietnam Era, by Patricia Appelbaum. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. xi, 330 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth.

Acts of Conscience: Christian Nonviolence and Modern American Democracy, by Joseph Kip Kosek. Columbia Studies in Contemporary American History. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009. xiii, 352 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $50.00 cloth.

Reviewer Bill Douglas lives and works in Des Moines. He is the author of "Penn in Technicolor: Cecil Hinshaw's Radical Pacifist-Perfectionist Experiment at William Penn College, 1944–1949" (*Quaker History*, 2007).

Pacifism has always been a distinctly minority position in U.S. society, but between the world wars it exercised enough influence that even the ultimate, if fictional, ecclesiastical opportunist Elmer Gantry toyed with preaching pacifism during his Methodist phase. But it apparently required principles.

These two fine books both deftly illuminate mainstream Protestant pacifism from around 1920 to 1960 and its evolution within that time, but in very different ways. (We should pause to note that there were other disparate Protestant pacifisms, including a diminishing Pentecostal variety and an enduring Anabaptist one that were larger numerically if not as influential intellectually until after this period, when John Howard Yoder synthesized Mennonitism and Barth.) Appelbaum is interested in pacifism's internal dynamics; Kosek in its influence on American society.

Both authors take a primarily biographical approach, and some similarities emerge. Both begin with Harold Gray, the World War I conscientious objector whose memoir *Character Bad* would be influential for World War II objectors. Kosek adds into the mix Gray's shipmates on his YMCA journey to Europe, Evan Thomas and Kirby Page. Both Appelbaum and Kosek seek to rehabilitate the historical memory of the almost forgotten Page, whose tireless efforts as a pacifist "social evangelist" crisscrossing the country in the 1920s and '30s did as much as anyone's to popularize pacifism. Kosek and Appelbaum both devote considerable space to Richard Gregg, an early nonviolent theorist. (Only Kosek mentions the earlier theorist Clarence Case, a University

of Iowa political scientist who was the first to analyze Gandhi's achievements.) Not surprisingly, both see a turn in U.S. pacifism around 1940 as the world descended into another conflagration; Appelbaum sees it as a turn inward, Kosek as a turn to Gandhianism. Each ends by profiling a different participant in the 1959 Omaha action against nuclear weapons: Appelbaum portrays Marjorie Swann, who was featured in the women's magazine *Redbook* for her civil disobedience and prison time even though she had small children at home; Kosek limns A. J. Muste, whose more traditional marriage left him with more time to organize actions designed to prick the consciences of those residing in the American national security state.

Appelbaum is obsessed with categorizing what kind of movement twentieth-century pacifism was. That she does not succeed in a definition only shows that the movement was sui generis, but her attempts in both her dissertation and book do help delineate its parameters. In her dissertation Appelbaum made the audacious if overstated claim that mainstream Protestant pacifism was a new religion. The case can be made, if definitions can be set to fit the evidence, but probably pacifism remained within the boundaries of liberal Protestantism (as prominent pacifist Kirby Page's frequent presence in the pages of *The Christian Century* suggests). But the provocative claim in her dissertation at least has the advantage of making us think about the newness of pacifism in a way that the suggestions in her book do not. Here she merely presents sociological classifications, and her final word — that pacifism is a movement within Protestantism like fundamentalism — may be true, but seems unhelpful in understanding its distinctions.

Never mind — Appelbaum's strength is not in defining pacifism's sociological grouping, but in describing its internal dynamics and its evolution. By unearthing such artifacts as plays, worship services, artwork, and storytelling, and by tracing the social networks that pacifists constructed, she has made a significant contribution to communitarian studies as well as to the history of pacifism.

Appelbaum does make a few mistakes. She claims incorrectly that William Lloyd Garrison was a premillennialist (46). She also states that Kirby Page saw that "the true meaning of the cross was not atonement . . . but the 'redeeming power of sacrificial love'" (53). Actually, that was his view of the atonement. She describes the draft-age David Dellinger in 1940 as a "longtime activist." But these are minor quibbles.

I haven't read Kosek's dissertation, so I don't know if it deviates from his sure-footed book. Kosek's book more nearly resembles an institutional history, following the leadership of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), the major religious pacifist organization of the

time. One of Kosek's many contributions is to situate the early Reinhold Niebuhr within the context of the FOR. That Niebuhr, even after the publication of *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, was for pacifism before he was against it adds to our understanding of Niebuhr as well as his pacifist contemporaries.

Appelbaum is correct that pacifists took comfort in a like-minded community to construct a new society with building blocks they could find within their own confines, but Kosek is also right that pacifists urgently sought to affect the larger society through nonviolent theory and action.

Appelbaum, in ending her study with the biography of Marjorie Swann, shows how pacifism's internal dynamics led to feminism. Kosek, more interested in pacifism's effect on political realities, ends with pacifism's impact on the civil rights revolution. The protagonists that they both evoke would be impatient with a president who seeks to postpone the abolition of nuclear weapons, much less war, to a future beyond our lifetimes.

Both Appelbaum and Kosek discuss pacifists with Iowa connections, though not always identifying that connection. Both rehabilitate the importance of Kirby Page, who graduated from Drake Divinity School, pastored his first parish in Iowa, and frequently returned to the state as a social evangelist. A. J. Muste spent a year at Northwestern College and was married in Iowa. Marj Swann was born and raised outside of Cedar Rapids and retains the gentle effects of a Methodist upbringing.

Both books have excellent bibliographies, boons to future research. I had some problems with the index in Appelbaum's book: I couldn't find a reference to Nazis, Hitler, Germany, the Axis, or World War II, although my clear recollection is that she didn't elide treatment of that war. I also happened to find in the footnotes but not in the index a reference to nineteenth-century Danish theologian N. F. S. Grundtvig, associated ancillarily with Iowa history.

So, should advocates of social change concentrate on internal community or external organizing? A reading of these books would suggest that the answer is yes to both, unless the seemingly sterile argument that either the feminist or the civil rights revolution was more important in reshaping American society can be definitively answered. Appelbaum's and Kosek's works suggest that placing the fulcrum on the edge of the possible may be more fruitful than more incremental attempts.

Camp Dodge, by Mary L. Jones and Michael Vogt. Images of America Series. Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2009. 127 pp. Illustrations, bibliography. $21.99 paper.

Reviewer Jerry Cooper is professor emeritus of history at the University of Missouri–St. Louis. He is the author of *The Rise of the National Guard: The Evolution of the American Militia, 1865–1920* (1998).

Camp Dodge is a piece of pictorial nostalgia, depicting the home of the Iowa National Guard (ING) from 1905, when the state first purchased land to establish a permanent camp for the ING, through 2008. Prior to 1905, the ING held its annual training encampments at temporary sites scattered across the state. Acquisition of Camp Dodge gave the ING the opportunity to create a facility provided with permanent barracks, stables, cooking facilities, and training areas. The ING continues to use the camp to the present day.

The authors provide a brief, two-page overview of the book and the history of the camp. Thereafter, they initiate each chronologically arranged chapter with a single-paragraph introduction. All chapters are organized in the same format: plenty of photographs with brief explanatory captions. Some of the photographs are interesting, even intriguing, but because the introductory paragraphs provide little historical information on the ING, readers gain little from the photo captions as there is no substantive context within which to evaluate the photographs. Unfortunately, many of the photographs are pedestrian and repetitive, especially the frequent shots of the large swimming pool at the center of the camp. The authors even provide a shot of where the pool *used to be*.

During the two world wars, the federal government took control of Camp Dodge for use as a training ground and induction center. The authors tell us little about how the army used the camp, a notable omission because hundreds of thousands of men passed through the camp in 1917–18 and 1941–45, and their experience differed considerably from that of the Iowa Guardsmen in peacetime. Photo captions in the World War I chapter, four in all, suggest that the wartime camp had a significant impact on nearby Des Moines and smaller communities in the area, but much more could have been said about the presence of more than 100,000 men in the area.

These chapters in particular demonstrate the fallibility of the theory that a picture is worth a thousand words. Here we see that pictures are pictures; if we are to understand what they mean, beyond experiencing a momentarily nostalgic moment, then we must be told something about them. Most of *Camp Dodge* suffers from the absence of explanation and analysis.

The Home Fronts of Iowa, 1939–1945, by Lisa L. Ossian. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009. xv, 242 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth.

Reviewer Terrence J. Lindell is professor of history at Wartburg College. He has investigated home-front activity during World War II in northeast Iowa.

Lisa Ossian, codirector of the Iowa Studies Center and history professor at Des Moines Area Community College, makes a major contribution to Iowa history with this study of the state's World War II homefront experience. Although a number of writers have sought in recent years to explore aspects of Iowa's home front, this work — a revision of Ossian's 1999 dissertation at Iowa State University — is the first to look at the experience as a whole.

In her introduction, Ossian explores what Iowans thought of the growing likelihood that the United States would be drawn into World War II, the beginnings of defense preparedness, and the reaction to Pearl Harbor. In subsequent chapters she examines four different "home fronts" in Iowa: agricultural production, war industries, "the community front," and "the kitchen front." Throughout, she ponders the question: "How did Iowans so quickly transform their relatively isolationist perspective regarding involvement in this threatening world conflict into an overwhelmingly enthusiastic attitude, which they sustained throughout the war effort?" (x). An ancillary question has to do with why Americans recall this conflict as "the good war."

Themes in the "farm front" chapter include the increasing mechanization of Iowa agriculture as farmers managed, despite shortages of traditional labor and hesitance about importing workers, to boost production, though at the cost of moving toward industrial-scale farming and practices that would deplete the soil. For the "production front" chapter, Ossian examines Iowa's contributions to war production, including the state's two ordnance plants, the manufacturers that received Army-Navy "E" pennants for excellence in production, the roles of women and African Americans in defense employment, and Iowa State University's role in developing the atomic bomb.

In her treatment of the "community front," Ossian describes how Iowans responded to bond drives and calls for scrap materials. This chapter also looks at Iowa's contribution to the nation's armed forces, with particular treatment of the ill-fated Sullivan brothers of Waterloo and Red Oak's losses when its National Guard company saw action in North Africa. The chapter on the "kitchen front" examines women's roles in the household during wartime, which included feeding their families nutritious and pleasing meals under the restrictions of rationing, preserving the bountiful produce of Victory Gardens, and salvaging

materials such as waste fat needed for the war effort — all with little help from males who saw household chores as women's work. Women in their role as homemakers, presiding over an abundance of home-cooked food, including — perhaps especially — pie, were a powerful and comforting image for American troops far from home.

Iowans embraced the challenges set before them because they saw themselves as soldiers on a home front with duties as necessary and vital as those in uniform on the war front, and so "this war became the people's war. Because of their participation, the war seemed good. It had to, because everyone had battled in it and sacrificed for it" (160).

Ossian's extensive notes and bibliography reflect wide and deep reading in the relevant literature. Her analysis is well grounded in the work of other historians of the home front. Her use of diverse and often-overlooked sources — as wide ranging as high school yearbooks, *Iowa Veterinarian*, MacKinlay Kantor's fiction, and *Kitchen Klatter* — enriches her narrative. The impressive bibliography, divided into works published during the war and those published after the conflict, does not show all of her work in archives, public library files, and newspapers. (Her work in newspapers is stronger for central and southwestern Iowa than for the rest of the state.)

The treatment of women's roles in the wartime home is particularly insightful, though Ossian makes a number of minor and uncharacteristic errors regarding rationing. The first ration book issued by the Office of Price Administration was named War Ration Book One, not "Sugar War Ration Book," though initially sugar was the only food item it regulated (132). Stamps in Book Two were not glue-backed, though the grocers who had to account for them may well have wished they were. Butter was rationed (and in the spring of 1943 cost as many ration points per pound as porterhouse steak).

Important topics of the Iowa home front still need further attention, including communities' scramble to attract war spending, educational institutions' efforts to attract training programs, the impact on Iowa's industries that processed agricultural products, the influence of a military facility such as the Sioux City Army Air Base on the surrounding communities, and the geographic mobility that carried Iowans to other parts of the nation. However, *The Home Fronts of Iowa* provides a superb starting point for future scholars.

The Liberation of the Concentration Camps, 1945: The Des Moines, Iowa Survivors, by Adele Anolik. North Liberty: Ice Cube Press, 2008. ix, 88 pp. Illustrations. $11.95 paper.

Reviewer David Mayer Gradwohl is professor emeritus of anthropology and founding director of the Iowa State University Archaeological Laboratory. He has a keen interest in the history of Jews in Iowa.

This publication is an expansion of the booklet Adele Anolik put together in 1995 for the fiftieth anniversary commemoration of the liberation of the concentration camps in Nazi-controlled Europe. It includes short biographies and photographs of 15 individuals, living as of 1995 in the greater Des Moines area, who were Holocaust survivors and had been liberated from Nazi concentration and extermination camps by Allied Forces in 1945. The book also provides the names of 15 other Des Moines–area Holocaust survivors, then deceased, including their dates of birth and death and the camps in which they had been imprisoned. Finally, the book lists 23 individuals from Des Moines and Ames who escaped Nazi forces by going into hiding, fleeing to other countries, or being saved by rescuers. The life stories of all of these individuals put the lie to the "Holocaust deniers" who seek to rewrite twentieth-century European history.

The unique value of Anolik's book is that she "puts a face" on Holocaust history, which is generally known from abundant other sources. The Holocaust survivors who found their way to Des Moines for a variety of reasons came from the shtetls, ghettos, and cities of Europe and a sociocultural milieu that was forever torn asunder by the Nazis. We see these Holocaust survivors as individuals who struggled to learn English, find employment, settle into their new lives as citizens of Iowa, raise their children, and look forward to their grandchildren, while retaining their Judaic identity. These stories are particularistic in one sense. But the same processes occur today as immigrants and refugees from Latin America, Africa, and Southeast Asia integrate into Iowa's increasingly diverse society while maintaining their native languages, religious beliefs, and cultural practices.

Anolik's book is all the more important and poignant when we realize that 11 of the 15 Holocaust survivors originally profiled have died since 1995.

Wallace Stegner and the American West, by Philip L. Fradkin. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009. xvi, 369 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $19.95 paper.

Reviewer Malcolm Rohrbough is professor of history emeritus at the University of Iowa. His books include *Aspen: The History of a Silver Mining Town, 1879–1893* (1986) and *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (1997).

Throughout a long and illustrious career, Wallace Stegner helped to define the American West as a place worthy of serious scholarship. In this engaging and insightful biography, widely published author and Pulitzer Prize–winning journalist Philip L. Fradkin offers a careful and clear-eyed analysis of Stegner's life and work. It is a complex subject, filled with twists and turns.

Fradkin divides his study into four parts (plus an epilogue), a rough chronology of Stegner's life and career. The first, "Unformed Youth," covers Stegner's hardscrabble youth on the high plains in the small towns of Eastend (Saskatchewan), Great Plains (Montana), and eventually Salt Lake City. The young Stegner enrolled in the University of Utah as a freshman at the age of 16. In an itinerant and in some ways lonely youth, he had read voraciously, and he had lived in a wide variety of western landscapes. Upon graduation, he accepted a teaching assistantship in the Department of English at the University of Iowa. There, he fell under the influence of Norman Foerster, the director of the new School of Letters. Foerster allowed graduate students to write creative works for advanced degrees. Stegner was one of the first to benefit, presenting three short stories for a master's degree. For a dissertation in American literature, Stegner chose as a subject John Wesley Powell and aridity in the American West. He concluded his Iowa years by marrying fellow graduate student Mary Stuart Page. It was a union of enormous personal and professional significance for him.

In his second section, Fradkin examines Stegner as "Talented Teacher." In teaching stints at Augustana College and universities of Utah, Wisconsin, and Harvard, Stegner established himself as an effective teacher. His regular summer participation in the Bread Loaf Writers' Conference brought him into contact with the New England literati, including Robert Frost and Bernard De Voto. He also began to write on a regular schedule, publishing short stories and his first major novel, *The Big Rock Candy Mountain*, in 1943. In 1945 he accepted a professorship at Stanford University, where he taught creative writing for 25 years. Some of the most important writers of that generation passed through the Stanford program, including Edward Abbey, Wendell Berry, Ivan Doig, Ken Kesey, Scott Turow, and N. Scott Momaday. No other teacher could claim such an influence over a generation. Disillu-

sioned by campus protests and university infighting, Stegner took early retirement in 1968, intending to devote himself to his own writing.

Overlapping his academic career as teacher was a period that Fradkin calls "Reluctant Conservationist." The "conservationist" dimension reflected Stegner's published work on Powell and the Colorado River and the author's considerable direct participation in conservation activities in the 1960s. Stegner worked for Stuart Udall in the Interior Department and played a role in the passage of the Wilderness Act in 1964. He also became active in the Sierra Club and its multiple agenda items of the 1960s. The "reluctant" dimension was Stegner's increasing unhappiness with the bureaucracy of conservation and his connection to it. The conservation crusade involved him in a continuing war of words, and the whole came to be a distraction and drain on his regular writing. In Fradkin's words, "by the end of the 1960s, at the age of sixty, Stegner was soured on conservation politics, California's growth, teaching, hippie lifestyles, and the war in Vietnam." As a result, he was ready "to pull up the drawbridge and focus on his fiction" (220).

In Stegner's last period, "Prominent Author," Fradkin focuses on the writing, publication, and reception of *Angle of Repose*. Published in 1971, winner of the Pulitzer Prize, it was Stegner's most prominent work of fiction. And, in one of those unattractive dimensions of the literary world, it was also the most controversial. Fradkin's long chapter, "Angle of Unrest," captures the essence of the unhappiness that soured Stegner's last years. *Angle of Repose* was loosely based on the life of Mary Hallock Foote, the wife of a western mining engineer. In crafting his novel, Stegner had the permission of Foote's relatives to use her letters, diaries, and other documentary materials that they made freely available to him. The resulting work was fiction, but Stegner's use of the Foote materials raised issues of attribution and angered some members of Foote's family. Thus, even at the moment of Stegner's great triumph, he was subjected to a wide range of attacks about his use of sources and the portrayal of his main character. Fradkin examines the issue in detail and offers a balanced conclusion.

Fradkin's excellent study exposes another point that surrounds the careers of powerful academic figures. Even as Stegner established himself as an iconic figure on the western literary landscape, a younger generation of writers and scholars began to criticize him as old-fashioned and overly traditional. They cited his treatment of American Indians and women. A new scholarly cycle had emerged, and the elders were among its first targets.

This is a splendid scholarly study of America's most important twentieth-century interpreter of the West.

The Iowa Caucuses: First Tests of Presidential Aspiration, 1972–2008, by John C. Skipper. Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2010. vii, 212 pp. Illustrations, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00 paper.

Reviewer Norman E. Fry teaches American history and government at Southeastern Community College in Burlington, Iowa. His research and writing have focused on the Mississippi River and small towns in Iowa.

John C. Skipper's book sets out to explain why the Iowa caucuses have become what they are today and why they remain the first testing ground for those men and women who seek the presidency. Skipper focuses on the years since 1972 and the gradual evolution of the Iowa caucuses from a grassroots electoral event to a major political story for the national news media.

The caucuses are work sessions for party regulars who pick county central committee members, delegates to county conventions, and other minor officeholders. But the irresistible attraction of the Iowa caucuses for the national and world news media has been the presence of presidential contenders from both the Republican and Democrat parties who use the caucuses as a platform to launch their presidential ambitions onto the national stage.

Skipper's book is a journalistic narrative of the caucuses that draws on secondary sources, campaign memoirs, statistical results of the caucuses, his own personal experience, and interviews with politicians and political operatives. The book reflects the author's own rich experience as a reporter covering Iowa presidential politics for 25 years. The main source for reporters is the interview, as is evident here. As a result, the book carries plenty of anecdotal evidence, humor, and the sorts of personal insights from both the author and political operatives that give the narrative a lively verve.

The author's main purpose is to explain why the Iowa caucuses became important in the first place. Skipper attributes their importance to the convergence of two movements during the 1960s: African Americans' demand for representation in the political process; and the revolt, inspired by the rowdy Democratic National Convention held in Chicago in 1968, against the political bosses. These protests were the beginning of a movement against all forms of political exclusion. The goal of party reformers was to increase the number of women, minorities, young people, and others who had been denied a role in party politics by the political bosses.

This movement to expand participation in party politics found avid supporters in Iowa, especially among Democrat Party activists, and the efforts of those activists created the Iowa caucuses in the form

they have taken, but practical concerns determined why they became the first presidential electoral contest in the nation. The Iowa political activists who designed the caucus process were left with a basic procedural problem. The caucuses had to be held well before the county, district, and state conventions, which ordinarily took place between March and June. Enough time was needed to complete important clerical duties. The solution was an early caucus held in January or February. Thus was born the Iowa caucuses and all of the unintended consequences of their early venue.

Skipper successfully traces the origins of the caucuses to the demands for reform during the 1960s at both the national level and in Iowa. But he also notes that the original intent evolved into something quite unexpected. An unknown presidential contender, such as Jimmy Carter, can no longer come to Iowa and gain national attention with little or no financial means. The caucuses have become a media event, far more expensive than in the early days, and very often the media interpretation of who won or lost is as important as the actual results. But this evolution explains the continuing importance of the Iowa caucuses; they have become a modern political hybrid composed of one part local politics and the other part national media coverage.

Readers should understand that *The Iowa Caucuses* is not a scholarly work. It is not written for political scientists or political historians, but it does give a readable and up-to-date interpretation of the evolution of the caucuses from local event to national obsession. The book has an index, footnotes, and appendixes of election results and Republican straw polls, which should make it a handy book for teaching about the Iowa caucuses. Generally, it should be read by anyone interested in Iowa history and politics, presidential primary politics, and the role of the national media and the Iowa caucuses as a clearinghouse for presidential ambitions.

Purebred & Homegrown: America's County Fairs, by Drake Hokanson and Carol Kratz. Terrace Books. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009. xii, 182 pp. Illustrations (mostly color), notes, bibliography, index. $50.00 cloth, $29.95 paper.

Reviewer Chris Rasmussen is associate professor of history at Fairleigh Dickinson University. He is the author of "'Fairs Here Have Become a Sort of Holiday': Agriculture and Amusements at Iowa's County Fairs, 1838–1925" (*Annals of Iowa,* 1999).

Agricultural fairs, as Drake Hokanson and Carol Kratz note in *Purebred & Homegrown*, have played an enormous role in American history,

yet have "escaped the attention of scholars and authors" (7). Hokanson and Kratz's engaging book helps redress this oversight by explaining county fairs' importance to rural Americans, especially in the Midwest and New England and on the West Coast. Rather than examine a single fair or region in depth, the authors attended a remarkable number of the 2,200 fairs held annually in the United States in an effort to identify the "universal" elements that compose "the nature of the American county fair" (ix, 10).

Hokanson and Kratz observe that the American county fair has always been a hybrid, part agricultural competitions, part social event. They trace American fairs' history from their beginnings in New England, where American fairs, distinct from their British forebears, hosted competitions open to all farmers, not only elite livestock breeders. Hokanson and Kratz observe that county fairs invariably include competitions for livestock, crops, and home arts, along with entertainment, such as midway rides and grandstand shows. In the past century, the advent of 4-H programs and a growing emphasis on entertainment have altered both the agricultural and social sides of the fair; yet, as Hokanson and Kratz put it, "the key components of the fair have changed only in degree and not in kind in almost two hundred years," despite enormous changes in American society over the past two centuries (66).

Purebred & Homegrown is extensively illustrated with the authors' own excellent photographs of contemporary fairs, along with posters, postcards, and other images of past fairs. These images vividly depict fairs' mixture of homespun competitions, prodigious displays of agricultural abundance, and garish sideshows. Fairs stimulate all of the senses, and the authors also evoke the fairground's sounds, tastes, and smells. Throughout their history, American fairs have been predicated on the belief that most people learn by looking, and the color photographs in this book transport the reader to the livestock ring and the midway.

Another aspect of the fair is less tangible than a Shropshire judging or a ride on the Tilt-a-Whirl, but more important. According to Hokanson and Kratz, fairs embody "rural ideals," extolling the wholesomeness of farm life and the values of hard work, self-sufficiency, and frugality (72–73). The authors acknowledge that, to some extent, these values are vestiges of the nineteenth century, when most Americans lived on farms. Formerly an annual respite from the labor and isolation of farm life, fairs now offer an opportunity for the overwhelming majority of Americans, who now live in cities and suburbs, to learn a bit about where their food comes from. But, as Hokanson and Kratz

also remind us, fairs have endured not because of fairgoers' wistfulness for a bygone or even mythic rural past, but because these annual fairs still mark the yearly cycle of planting and harvesting (168). Far from an exercise in nostalgia, agricultural fairs persist and even remain vibrant because, although few Americans today are farmers, agriculture remains an utterly indispensable aspect of our lives. Similarly, despite its folksy title, *Purebred & Homegrown* does not treat fairs as kitschy Americana, but captures their vitality.

Postville, U.S.A.: Surviving Diversity in Small-Town America, by Mark Grey, Michele Devlin, and Aaron Goldsmith. Boston: GemmaMedia, 2009. xxiii, 184 pp. Glossary, bibliography. $14.95 paper.

Reviewer Deborah Fink is an independent scholar in Ames, Iowa. She is the author of *Cutting into the Meatpacking Line: Workers and Change in the Rural Midwest* (1998).

Postville, a quiet town in northeast Iowa, came in for traumatic change after an Orthodox Jewish family moved in to open the nation's largest kosher slaughterhouse in 1987. A diversity explosion followed. The authors of *Postville, U.S.A.* are an anthropologist with experience working in Iowa immigrant communities, a public health specialist, and an Orthodox Jewish rabbi living in Postville. They bring an impressive package of tools and credentials to this narrative of the town and its encounter with diversity.

The book chronicles the rise, fall, and aftermath of the slaughterhouse, which operated with cheap and exploitable labor, including undocumented immigrant workers. In 2008, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement officials swooped down on the plant, arresting large numbers of immigrant workers and eventually charging plant managers with hundreds of felonies. Many people scattered, and most of the new workers who were recruited stayed only briefly. Then the plant closed and the town further imploded, causing yet more problems.

Postville, U.S.A. could be a chapter in the story of the meatpacking industry in Iowa, a microstudy of Iowa's new immigrant populations, a continuation of Osha Davidson's *Broken Heartland* account of Iowa's rural decline, or a response and epilogue to a 2000 book, *Postville,* by Stephen G. Bloom. Instead, the authors hang the Postville narrative on a critique of the "diversity industry," which purports to counsel individuals, companies, and communities on how to do diversity, but which the authors consider a big ripoff.

The book's failures are too numerous to cover in the allotted space. I bring up but a few of its more critical and egregious shortcomings.

Given the ten years of research and the large number of interviews that went into the book and the facts that one of the authors is an anthropologist and another resides in Postville, there is remarkably sparse information on what was actually happening in Postville. There is no inside look at the people, no story behind the story. The account of the 2001 city council race, in which author Aaron Goldsmith was opposed by a woman named Tracey Schager, is one example of a missed opportunity to tell something about the town and its citizens. We read that one Arlin Schager put up his daughter to run against Goldsmith. Who were Arlin and Tracey Schager? Was she a teacher? A poet? A meatcutter? A generic redneck? What was her role in the narrative? Was there any attempt to interview her? Who were her supporters? What issues were at stake in the election? We do not know. We know only that Goldsmith won the race, which the authors declare "a victory for tolerance, decency, and common sense" (39). Why?

Even more puzzling is the absence of any detail on the production workers at the plant, a significant percentage of the town population. There are laundry lists of their countries of origin, but their faces and personal histories are blanks. If the authors had any contact with these workers, it does not come out in the book.

The screeds on diversity are puzzling and off-center. There is an account of author Grey's presentation on diversity at a meeting with 30 Postville leaders. With experience and knowledge of diversity, he began, in professorial mode, by asking each person to write down their definition of diversity. Everyone failed to do this correctly, most being too cowed to even respond. How, he remonstrated, were they going to achieve something they couldn't even define? They weren't even ready to begin. Awful.

Yet, for the authors, various public diversity professionals are even worse. The diversity business rakes in billions every year training, consulting, and recruiting, but most of what is done is nebulous and ineffective. Even those professionals don't understand the true nature of diversity. The irony is that the *Postville, U.S.A.* authors themselves fail to define what they mean by the term. If diversity means something different than, well, diversity, what is it?

In the chapter before the afterword, lessons from Postville are laid out point by point to instruct others facing similar challenges. The first lesson is that "primary employers and organizations serving newcomers in rural communities must adhere to the highest ethical, legal, and human standards of operation" (142). Yes. In fact, everyone should. But in the world we've got, people fall prey to such timeless sins as

greed, pride, sloth, and mendacity. A moral lecture is not a lesson in history or a guide for moving forward in the real world.

Postville afficionados will want this book in their collections. Students of Iowa history, immigration, rural demography, or meatpacking will find more enlightenment elsewhere.

New on the Shelves

"New on the Shelves" is a list of recent additions to the collections of the State Historical Society of Iowa. It includes manuscripts, audio-visual materials, and published materials recently acquired or newly processed that we think might be of interest to the readers of the *Annals of Iowa.* The "DM" or "IC" at the end of each entry denotes whether the item is held in Des Moines or Iowa City.

Manuscripts

Biggs Family (Samuel, David, et al). Papers, 1854–ca. 1940. 1¾ ft. Letters, photographs, and miscellaneous documents of this pioneer family of Allamakee County who helped settle and plat the town of Volney, Iowa, and operated a sawmill there. DM.

Edgerly, Mitchell V. Papers, 1942–1945. 1 ft. World War II letters, photographs, and ephemera of Mitchell V. Edgerly (Central City) who was a ship serviceman assigned to the USS *Shangri-la*. DM.

Goddard, Edwin. Papers, 1832–1881. ½ ft. An assortment of documents representing early government affairs in Van Buren County, 1832–1861; and records of the Van Buren County Old Settlers Association (of which Goddard served as secretary), 1870s–1892). The first series of records includes a petition to fund building of railroads in the county (1856), materials related to construction of the county jail (1856), election returns, and some licenses for general merchandise and liquor merchants (1839–1840). The Old Settlers records include lists of pioneer settlers and dates of arrival, correspondence, meeting notes, speeches, and compiled county biographical and historical information. DM.

Wilson, George A. (Governor). Papers and audio recordings, 1941–1948. ¼ ft. documents, 6 phonograph discs. Transcripts of radio addresses by this Iowa governor dating from February 1941 to October 1942; and radio recordings of his inaugural ceremony (January 16, 1941), an address at Davenport (September 20, 1948), and his comments during wartime radio news segments (May and June 1942). Phonograph recordings have been transferred to compact disc. DM.

Audio-Visual

Enterprise, Iowa. 8 black-and-white photographs, ca. 1900. Views of this Polk County community, including local coal mine and miners and the Red Men lodge. DM.

Ernst, Daniel, Sr. One photograph album (ca. 280 photographs), 1898–1899. Photos related to Ernst's military service with Company H of the 51st Iowa Infantry during the Spanish-American and Philippine-American War. DM.

Iowa — legislative history. Composite portrait of Representatives of the 24th Iowa General Assembly, 1892. DM.

Iowa stereographs. Portraits of Iowa Congressmen David B. Henderson and Jonathan P. Dolliver, 1898 (Strohmeyer & Wyman); view of crowd at Columbus Junction chautauqua waiting for William Jennings Bryan to take the stage, August 7, 1905 (J. G. Baker); and view of crowd observing train wreckage near Columbus Junction, August 10, 1905 (J.G. Baker). DM.

Koval, Andrew Charles, Jr. 35mm color slide collection (175 slides), 1970s and 1980s. Images of Iowa depots photographed and collected by Koval (Chicago), a railroad post office clerk and member of the Mobile Post Office Society. DM.

Van Horn, Dean. One photograph album (123 photographs), 1944. World War II album of U.S. Marine Dean Van Horn (Charles City) with candid photos of 4th Division camp life and activities at Maui (Hawaii) and Saipan and Tinian (Marianas Islands) prior to departure to Iwo Jima. DM.

Published Materials

Adventures in Tornado Alley: The Storm Chasers, by Mike Hollingshead and Eric Nguyen. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 2008. 187 pp. DM, IC.

Along the Iron Curtain, by Joseph A. Michaud. Iowa City: Camp Pope Bookshop, 2008. 147 pp. *Account of the 14th Armored Cavalry Regiment from the Civil War through border operations in Germany, 1945–1977.* IC.

Amendment XV: Race and the Right to Vote, edited by Jeff Hay. Farmington Hills, MI: Greenhaven Press, 2009. 154 pp. DM, IC.

Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education Together with a History of the Public Schools of the Independent School District of the City of Dubuque, Also Rules and Regulations of the Board of Directors. Dubuque: [Dubuque Board of Education], 1858. IC.

Annual Report of . . . County Superintendent of Public Instruction, for the County of Dubuque. Dubuque: [County of Dubuque. Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1858]. IC.

Archeological Investigations at the Coralville Reservoir, Iowa, by Warren W. Caldwell. Washington, DC: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1961. 69 pp. *Originally published as Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 179, pp. 79–148.* IC.

Ben '08: A Citizen's Platform for Common Sense Solutions to America's Challenges, by some guy from Iowa [Benjamin Richards]. N.p.: The Practical Press, 2007. 104 pp. DM, IC.

Bessie Ullman, Her Life's Work. N.p.: storiedgifts.com, [2008?]. 261 pp. *A collection of memories and interviews about Ullman's life in Ottumwa, 1913–present.* DM, IC.

Carbonate Platform Facies and Faunas of the Middle and Upper Devonian Cedar Valley Group and Lime Creek Formation, Northern Iowa, by John R. Groves et al. [Iowa City]: Iowa Dept. of Natural Resources, 2008. 98 pp. IC.

Cook Book: Gertrude Stein, William Cook, and Le Corbusier: With Visual Poems for Gertrude Stein, by Roy R. Behrens. Dysart: Bobolink Books, 2005. 95 pp. IC.

The Dakota Uprising: A Pictorial History, by Curtis A. Dahlin and Alan R. Woolworth. Edina, MN: Beaver's Pond Press, 2009. xii, 411 pp. IC.

Digital Technologies and the Museum Experience: Handheld Guides and Other Media, edited by Loic Tallon and Kevin Walker. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2008. xxv, 238 pp. DM.

Duesenberg, by Dennis Adler. [Iola, WI]: Krause Publications, 2004. 276 pp. DM.

Effie May: A Mini-Biography, by Effie Ganoe Poulter. N.p., n.d. 13 pp. *Growing up on a farm near Sloan in the early twentieth century.* IC.

Encyclopedia of American Religious History, edited by Edward L. Queen II, Stephen R. Prothero, and Gardiner H. Shattuck Jr. 3rd ed. New York: Facts on File, 2009. 3 vols. DM, IC.

The Encyclopedia of Strikes in American History, edited by Aaron Brenner, Benjamin Day, and Immanuel Ness. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2009. xxxix, 750 pp. IC.

Encyclopedia of the Jazz Age: From the End of World War I to the Great Crash, edited by James Ciment. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2008. 2 vols. DM, IC.

Encyclopedia of Women's Folklore and Folklife, edited by Liz Locke, Theresa A. Vaughan, and Pauline Greenhill. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009. 2 vols. DM.

A Fair Chance in the Race of Life: The Role of Gallaudet University in Deaf History, edited by Brian H. Greenwald and John Vickrey Van Cleve. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 2008. xii, 198 pp. IC.

Freedom Facts and Firsts: 400 Years of the African American Civil Rights Experience, edited by Jessie Carney Smith and Linda T. Wynn. Canton, MI: Visible Ink Press, 2009. xvii, 390 pp. DM.

Gene Henderson, Looking Forward. N.p.: storiedgifts.com, [2008?]. 290 pp. *Memoir of childhood in Logan through the Great Depression, prisoner of war during World War II, and subsequent life in Des Moines.* DM, IC.

The Girls from Ames: A Story of Women and a Forty-Year Friendship, by Jeffrey Zaslow. New York: Gotham Books, 2009. xv, 297 pp. IC.

The Great American Attraction: Two Brits Discover the Rollicking World of American Festivals, by Rich Smith. New York: Three Rivers Press, 2008. 279 pp. *Includes the Hobo Convention in Britt, Iowa.* IC.

Great Lincoln Documents: Historians Present Treasures from the Gilder Lehrman Collection, introduction by Douglas L. Wilson; essays by David W. Blight et al. New York: Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, 2009. viii, 82 pp. DM, IC.

Groundwater Availability Modeling: Lower Dakota Aquifera, by J. Michael Gannon et al. [Iowa City: Iowa Dept. of Natural Resources], 2008. viii, 166 pp. IC.

Groundwater Quality Evaluation of the Dakota Aquifer in Northwest Iowa, by Robert Rowden. [Iowa City: Iowa Dept. of Natural Resources], 2008. 47 pp. Available online at http://publications.iowa.gov/6049/. IC.

Groundwater Resource Evaluation of the Lower Dakota Aquifer in Northwest Iowa, by Robert Rowden. [Iowa City: Iowa Dept. of Natural Resources], 2008. 27 pp. IC.

Growing up in America: Children in Historical Perspective, edited by N. Ray Hiner and Joseph M. Hawes. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985. xxv, 310 pp. IC.

Hawkeyes for Life, by Steve Roe. Champaign, IL: Sports Pub., 2007. iii, 202 pp. *Sketches of people associated with University of Iowa athletics.* IC.

Held in the Heartland: German POWs in the Midwest, 1943–1946. [Saint Paul, MN: Traces Museum Center for History and Culture, 2008.] 46 pp. DM, IC.

Hello, Everybody!: The Dawn of American Radio, by Anthony Rudel. Orlando: Harcourt, 2008. 399 pp. DM, IC.

Hopewell Friends History, 1734–1934, Frederick County, Virginia: Records of Hopewell Monthly Meetings and Meetings Reporting to Hopewell: Two Hundred Years of History and Genealogy, compiled from official records and published by a joint committee of Hopewell Friends. 1936. Reprint. Baltimore: Clearfield, Genealogical Pub. Co., 2007. 671 p. DM.

Iowa Farm and Rural Life Poll: 1990 Summary, by Paul Lasley and Kevin Kettner. Ames: Iowa State University Extension, 1990. 16 pp. IC.

Journal of a Sea Voyage, by Wilhelm Noé; translated by Peter Stuck; edited by Peter Hoehnle. Amana, 1992. 48 pp. *Account of a voyage from Germany to New York to find a new home in the United States for the Inspirationists, who eventually settled in the Amana Colonies.* IC.

Kinnick: The Novel, by Mike Kielkopf. [Davenport]: Hawkland Press, 2006. 264 pp. *Fiction based on the life of University of Iowa football star Nile Kinnick, who was killed in action during World War II.* IC.

Labor and the Left: A Study of Socialist and Radical Influences in the American Labor Movement, 1881–1924, by John H. M. Laslett. New York: Basic Books, 1970. vi, 326 pp. IC.

Legal and Economic Influence of the Grange, 1867–1967: Prize-Winning Essays by Law Students on the Impact of the Grange on Social Legislation, by Thurman Arnold. Washington, DC: National Grange, 1967. vii, 98 pp. IC.

Manual of Subordinate Granges of the Patrons of Husbandry, adopted and issued by the National Grange. 37th ed. N.p., 1972. 118 pp. IC.

Marguerite Wildenhain and the Bauhaus: An Eyewitness Anthology, edited by Dean and Geraldine Schwarz. Decorah: South Bear Press, 2007. 767 pp. IC.

Materials Relating to the Iowa Association of Southern California. N.p., 1901–1997. ca. 50 pp. *Photocopies of clippings and journal articles relating to the Iowa Association of Southern California published 1901–1997.* IC.

Melton's Encyclopedia of American Religions, by J. Gordon Melton. 8th ed. Detroit: Gale Cengage Learning, 2009. xxvi, 1,386 pp. DM.

Memories of a Nurse, by Sally Christenson. [Charleston]: BookSurge, 2007. 77 pp. IC.

Micajah Peyton: The Civil War Years, by Ken Ossian. Iowa City: Camp Pope Bookshop, 2009. 133 pp. IC.

Mini-Vacation Guide of Iowa. Des Moines: Iowa Development Commission, [1984]. 40 pp. IC.

A Monumental Place: The Historic Civil War Soldiers' Monument, Four Cannons and Monumental Park of Madison County, Iowa, by Walt Libby. Iowa City: Camp Pope Bookshop, 2008. 347 pp. DM, IC.

Moving with the Elements, by Steve Semken. North Liberty: Ice Cube Press, 1998. 187 pp. DM.

The Museum Educator's Manual: Educators Share Successful Techniques, by Anna Johnson et al. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2009. vii, 250 pp. DM.

A New Birth of Freedom: Abraham Lincoln's Bicentennial. Washington, DC: Newsdesk Media, 2009. 138 pp. DM.

Niobrara Crossing: A Novel, by G. Gray Vicker. West Des Moines: Paint Horse Books, 2007. 252 pp. IC.

Notes and Quotes on the Origin of the Ritual and Early Years of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry, by C. Jerome Davis. N.p., 1974. 93 pp. IC.

189 at 75: The Voice of Labor Educators, by Jon Bloom. [Katonah, NY?: Brookwood Labor College?, 1997?] 16 pp. IC.

Our Land and its Care. 3rd ed. Washington, DC: National Plant Food Institute, 1955. 72 pp. IC.

Our Natural Treasure: Genevieve Kroshus, stories collected by Geraldine Schwarz; photographs by Nan Schwarz. Decorah: South Bear Press; 2008. 88 pp. *Kroshus was a lifelong resident of Winneshiek County who welcomed the South Bear School, an art school in Highlandville, 1970–1975.* DM, IC.

Presidential Sites: A Directory of Places Associated with Presidents of the United States, by William G. Clotworthy. Blacksburg, VA: McDonald & Woodward Pub., 1998. vii, 357 pp. IC.

Psalmebog, udgiven af Synoden for den Norsk Evangelisk Lutherske Kirke i America. Decorah: Synodens Forlag, 1880. 524, 260 pp. IC.

Public Art: Thinking Museums Differently, by Hilde Hein. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006. xxix, 167 pp. DM.

The Rainbows Often Wane: An Autobiographical Ego Trip, by Walt Shotwell. Madison, WI: N & K Pub., 2005. viii, 248 pp. DM.

Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education, of the City of Dubuque: From January 1st, to April 15th, 1858. Dubuque: W. A. Adams, 1858. 16 pp. IC.

Report on the Investigation of Pollution of the Cedar River from Waverly to Columbus Junction, 1926–1931. Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1931. 90 pp. IC.

Rising Tide: The Great Mississippi Flood of 1927 and How it Changed America, by John M. Barry. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997. 524 pp. IC.

The Rosa Lemberg Story, by Eva H. Erickson. Superior, WI: Työmies Society, [1993]. viii, 155 pp. IC.

Rules and Regulations of the Board of Education and for the Government of the Public Schools of the City of Dubuque. [Dubuque: Dubuque Board of Education], 1858. 16 pp. IC.

Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America, by David M. Katzman. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978. xviii, 374 pp. IC.

A Stranger in a Strange Land: The Story of a Dutch Settlement in Iowa under the Leadership of H P. Scholte, by Leonora R. Scholte. Pella: Pella Historical Society, 1998. 120 pp. *Reprinted from Iowa Journal of History and Politics 37 (1929).* IC.

Through the Years with Iowa Honn: A Collection of Poetry. N.p., 2000. 48 pp. IC.

Under a Midland Sky, by Thomas Dean. North Liberty: Ice Cube Press, 2008. 169 pp. DM, IC.

Upper Cedar Valley District Sunday School Convention at Nora Springs: Beginning Tuesday Evening, February 28th, and Closing Thursday Evening March 2nd, 1882. N.p., [1862]. 43 pp. IC.

Upper Midwest Organic Marketing Project, by E .G. Nadeau et al. N.p., [1994]. 2 vols. IC.

Wisconsin Central Railroad Lands. Milwaukee: L. Miller, printer, [1881?]. 69 pp. IC.

Words of a Prairie Slchemist: The Art of Prairie Literature, by Denise Low. North Liberty: Ice Cube Press, 2006. 127 pp. IC.

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